

**RENEWABLE ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL
SASKATCHEWAN:
A CRITICAL STUDY OF A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT**

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ABSTRACT

Title: Renewable energy in rural Saskatchewan: a critical study

In 2003, the town of Craik initiated a unique renewable energy project with the dual goals of addressing both the environmental and the rural economic crisis. This Master's thesis provides an exploration of the factors that both facilitate and constrain the advancement of this project. The research focuses on the question: What are the cultural and social factors that inhibit the Craik project from meeting its environmental and economic goals? New social movement theory provides a theoretical framework for explaining contradictions within social movements, while a critical ethnographic methodology is used to uncover specific underlying contradictions that exist at Craik. This thesis analyzes the dynamics of facilitating and non-facilitating factors to make visible the deeper sources of conflict, to contribute to theoretical models of social change and understandings of community development. Furthermore, the thesis provides direction for the Craik eco-project that can further the implementation of practices that will facilitate both its economic and environmental goals. Finally, the study provides valuable insights to other communities working to facilitate similar eco-projects and influence public policy in response to global warming

DEDICATION

To my children and grandchildren:

Naomi, Matthew, Maryanna, Jesse, Catherine, North-Marie and Isaiah

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The town of Craik, Saskatchewan, with a population of four hundred and two, is situated on Highway 11, (appendix 10) approximately halfway between Saskatoon and Regina, on the grasslands-plain between the Arm River and Qu'Appelle Valleys. Its economic base is agriculture, consisting primarily of grain farming (Craik Oral History and Archives Society, 2006).

Initiated in the spring of 2001, the citizens of the town and rural municipality (RM) of Craik developed the first comprehensive environmental project in Saskatchewan employing a long-term sustainable living plan that involved implementing alternative energy practices for an entire community (Craik Sustainable Living Project, 2005). The Craik Sustainable Living Project (CSLP) promotes a vision for both an economically and environmentally viable future for their community. However, while this project is a potential model for creating improvements in the life of Saskatchewan communities and it demonstrates a promising beginning, it also appears that some of the members of the local community have not yet fully embraced it. Instead, they may pose constraints to the fulfilment of its promise. However, there is urgency for the project to succeed for, like most rural Saskatchewan towns, Craik faces a very uncertain future. In light of the possible importance of the CSLP to the survival of Craik, the Research Question is:

What are the cultural and social factors that inhibit the project leaders from meeting their environmental and economic goals?

1.2 The economic context of the Craik Sustainable Living Project

Stabler, Olfert, and Fulton's studies of the history of rural communities in Saskatchewan describe the key factors explaining the rural population's economic rise and decline. In the early decades of the twentieth century, agriculturists were offered

fertile land and a railway transportation system was constructed to ensure a system for trade. As a result, hundreds of new communities developed very quickly. However, technological changes soon followed which meant that fewer farmers were needed to work the land. Consequently, smaller communities declined through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Stabler, Olfert and Fulton, 1992).

A more recent comparative study of the Saskatchewan census data from 1961, 1981, 1995, and 2001 by Stabler and Olfert (2002) analyzed the functional structure of each community, including consumer services, producer and manufacturing services and public infrastructure. They found that the smallest communities experience an ongoing and continuous loss of population resulting in a corresponding loss of support for businesses and fewer people employed and shopping locally. Their reports, along with others, determined that generally the loss of rural Saskatchewan's population can be traced to significant financial difficulties (Stabler, Olfert and Fulton, 1992; Stabler and Olfert, 2002; Stokes, J., 2003; Thomas, 1992; Auer, L., 1989; Lind, 1995). These reports state that Saskatchewan's economy is still mainly dependant on primary production which in turn is largely dependant on export markets. A common conclusion of many researchers is that, for effective and sustainable economic redevelopment, the province will need to embrace innovative advancements especially in agricultural communities (Stabler, Olfert, and Fulton, 1992; Brown J., Jonsson, Archer, Dalidowicz, Drope, Hamlin, Leitch, Mullin, Parsons and Webster, 1985).

According to the *Census on Agriculture* (2001), Canadian farmers on average spend eighty-seven cents of operating expenses for every dollar of income (Statistics Canada, 2002). There is very little specific data available that provides information on the proportion of farming expenditures that are energy related. However, in 1995, a Socio-Economic Profile was commissioned by the Midlakes Community Coalition¹ (Krebs, 1995). The profile was a base-line analytical study of the five villages, two towns and four rural municipalities along the corridor between Lake Diefenbaker and Long Lake and along Highway 11. Their study lists the total annual electricity expenses for rural

¹ The Midlakes Community Coalition was an ad hoc group of diverse individuals from communities along Highway 11, who began meeting in the mid 1980s. Their purpose was to look for options to help keep their communities viable.

farm users as 52% and 36% for rural households compared 12% for other rural commercial and municipal uses of the total electricity usage in that area of Saskatchewan. The annual total natural gas expenditures for rural farms were 31% and 61% for rural households compared to 8% for commercial and community municipal. The selected farm expenditures for fuel, oil and lubricants in 1995 for the RM of Craik number 222, total \$1,111,947 with 145 farms reporting. Fuel for heating and drying crops in that RM was \$35,498 with 56 farms reporting (Krebs, 1995, 63). Given the steady increase in oil and gas prices, it would be safe to claim that the proportion of farming expenditures that are energy related has risen significantly since then. The cost of energy for farmers would lead me to assume that they would welcome innovations that could lower expenses, especially in an era of global competition.

Rural land use in Canada is centred primarily on the agricultural economy. Agriculture in turn is regulated by international agreements on commodity trading and national policies on production. Farmers operate within a framework of regulatory agencies and the increasing demand from urban centres and corporate structures for inexpensive food. They have the challenge to produce a low-priced commodity and remain solvent, while being expected to maintain the integrity of the farm ecosystem. Within global economics, federal and provincial policies have emphasized increased productivity. Thus, short-term gains in the efficiency of production have become the priority and many farmers have responded by expanding the scale of their operations. The picture that emerges is one wherein the economics of market production determines the patterns of land use and farmers are limited in their opportunities to employ alternative methods. Thus, the economic pressures of low-cost food production are not conducive to an ecologically sustainable² approach (Thomas, 1992). The Craik community is not an exception to this dilemma, and this is the economic and cultural context of the CSLP.

² Some confusion comes from the term "sustainable development" (SD), created in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development. (The Brundtland Report). Many government and corporate bodies have defined SD as sustaining development, with "development" defined as perpetual economic growth. But this isn't the fundamental meaning. In its Overview the UN report says that SD means humanity meeting "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (p. 8). In a nutshell, SD is about inter-generation justice (Harding, 2009).

In rural Saskatchewan, as in Canada more generally, the way of life is exceedingly dependent on fossil fuel energy, especially for transport over the vast distances. Energy needs are critical to the farming economy. Oil prices, until recently, have been kept artificially low but the world is running out of inexpensive oil. The result is that in recent years, there is a crucial demand to develop alternative energy sources (Rees, 1990, 2003; Scheer, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006; Lovins, 1977).

William Rees, the well known author of *Our Ecological Footprint*, states that increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few corporations and financial institutions excludes many people from effective participation in determining the nature of their livelihood and this leads ordinary citizens to perceive that globalization is creating a world of “powerless places at the mercy of placeless powers” (Rees, 1990, 146). In the June, 2003, issue of The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative’s journal, *The Monitor*, Rees advocates that the problem needs “positive action and wide-ranging policy innovation, and also that universities should take the lead in research towards developing alternative energy projects” (Rees, June, 2003, 20). The project at Craik exemplifies the current global conflict between environmental and economic concerns. This thesis, following Rees’s lead, attempts to understand this struggle between economic and environmental values through an examination of the dynamics of the Craik Sustainable Living Project. Using a critical analysis, this thesis aims not only to examine the current contradictions and tensions at Craik, but also to identify strategies that might lead to solutions.

1.3 The global environmental context

In his first book, *A Solar Manifesto*, (2001), the economist and sociologist Scheer³ states, similar to Rees, that since fossil fuels are declining and nuclear energy is

³ Hermann Scheer, a leading authority on the subject of renewable energy, has been a member of the German Bundestag (parliament) since 1980, president of Eurosolar, the European Association for Renewable Energy, and General Chairman of the World Council for Renewable Energy (WCER). Dr Scheer has received numerous awards, including the World Solar Prize and the Alternative Nobel Prize. His career has been committed to the transition from nuclear and fossil fuel energy sources to renewable energy sources (Scheer, 2009).

dangerous, it is inevitable for the welfare of all humankind, present and future, that we seek sustainable alternatives. For Scheer, all human activity and development are, in one form or another, dependent upon energy. If energy is necessary for all human activity, the key underlying the current climate problem is that we have not yet developed sustainable energy strategies. Scheer's central theme, or *leitmotiv*, is that the environmental crisis can only be stopped if humans act soon. In other words, renewable energy is the imperative priority of the twenty-first century:

The truth is: civilization faces a turning point, because we are at the existential borderline of the present global energy system (Scheer, 2001: 1).

Therefore, according to his argument:

The goal for the century ahead must be the complete substitution of conventional sources of energy by constantly available solar energy. In other words, a complete solar energy supply for [humankind] (Scheer, 2001: 9).

Scheer maintains that the economic, social and environmental problems on earth are directly related to energy supply and the conventional means of energy. He argues that the need to promote implementation of renewable energy initiatives is essentially a spiritual and cultural challenge, emphasizing that the social and environmental problems on earth are related to our conventional energy sources (2001: 2).

Scheer's argument is strongly supported by the widely acclaimed 2006, Stern Review, *The Economics of Climate Change*, a seven-hundred-page report compiled for the British government and conducted by Sir Nicholas Stern, Head of the UK Government Economic Service and a former Chief Economist of the World Bank. Stern's study presents the largest and most comprehensive report of its kind and concludes that we are facing the extremely high likelihood of the worst effects of global warming. Stern states that amongst the many consequences of the failure to address these changes is the greatest market failure ever known. The Stern report provides two invaluable contributions. First, it connects environmentalism and economics. Second, this report has given specific proof to policy makers that climate change is a man made reality and organizing human society to counter that reality needs to take precedence (House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2005).

While Scheer and Lord Stern's writings seem to be groundbreaking, it should be noted that these arguments are not new. As early as 1977, Amory Lovins, Oxford and Harvard scholar, co-founder, chairman and chief scientist of the Rocky Mountain Institute in Colorado, wrote *Soft Energy Paths, Toward a Durable Peace*. In this seminal work, Lovins explains the lack of foresight in nuclear power development, given the environmental and economically preferable options. Lovins predicts the current energy shortage and pollution problems and presents an argument for what he terms soft energy paths, meaning energy methods that are environmentally safe. His book outlines a practical and coherent plan to develop the soft path alternatives by the year 2000 but, unfortunately, until this last decade, Lovins was largely ignored by all but those concerned with the nuclear issue (Lovins, 1977).⁴

In the context of the above writings, the immense significance of the Craik project becomes more apparent since it proposes, amongst other plans, an alternative energy plan that could become a model for other communities in Saskatchewan and beyond.

1.4 The Project

The Midlakes Community Coalition, started in the mid-1980s, was comprised of a dynamic and creative group of diverse individuals from the two towns of Craik and Davidson and the villages of Aylesbury, Girvin, Bladworth and Kenaston, which lie along the Lake Diefenbaker and Long Lake corridor. They met regularly to share ideas that might assist in revitalizing their communities. In April 1995, they hired a private consultant to compile a socio-economic profile of the region and his report recommended that their location on Highway 11 could provide opportunity to develop tourism (Krebs, 1995). In 1995, Dr. Lynn Oliphant, from the Prairie Institute for Human Ecology

⁴ Lovins says that the different energy paths relate to very different sets of values that lead to two different policy paths relating to future energy supplies. The high-energy path is centralized and based on the bureaucratic values of the capitalist market economy. These hard energy sources are high-energy nuclear and centralized electric. The values associated with an alternate soft energy path relate to thrift, simplicity, diversity, neighbourliness, craftsmanship, and humility. The soft energy sources include lower energy, non-nuclear and decentralized electricity sources

(PIHE)⁵ and professor emeritus at the University of Saskatchewan, spoke to this group about his vision for an eco-village, and several people in present from Craik thought it was a good idea. They asked their mayor to immediately call a joint RM and Town meeting and invited Lynn to speak about his idea. At that meeting, the community Town and RM leaders accepted the suggestions outlined in Dr. Oliphant's presentation and the RM offered one hundred and twenty seven acres for the project. A committee, comprised of Town councillors, RM councillor, the Mayor and anyone else who was interested, was set up to oversee the project. This one small group of community leaders at Craik was the beginning of the CSLP (Interviewee # 11, Dec. 13, 2008).

The initial idea for the CSLP emerged from the efforts of the Midlakes Coalition, and initiated from a partnership between the Rural Municipality of Craik and the Town of Craik in 2003. The stated goals for the eco-project over a five-year period were to: raise awareness about the environmental crisis, advance sustainable ways of living, and assist the community of Craik in becoming an eco-community that could be modelled by others. The range of proposed goals include an energy efficient Eco-Centre, educational programs on sustainable living options, community transition to enable more eco-friendly living, and a new housing development featuring energy efficient housing and a shared land base (Craik Sustainable Living Project, 2006).

The project successfully completed the proposed goals for the first two years. These goals were the construction of an Eco-Centre and the provision of environmental education. However, in the third year, an impasse emerged. None of the goals for 2005-2006 had been met. These later goals include “retrofitting existing buildings in Craik,

⁵ The Prairie Institute for Human Ecology (PIHE) began in the mid-eighties as an initiative to promote sustainable building techniques for the prairie eco-region. Dr. Oliphant was convinced that people in Saskatchewan needed a practical demonstration of these techniques in order to recognize their value. He developed a plan and, over ten years, presented it to four other communities. For various differing reasons, each previous community had subsequently turned the idea down.

recruiting residents for the eco-village and creating a market for local goods” (Craik Sustainable Living Project, 2006)⁶.

This study aims to identify the processes and dynamics that are stalling the advancement of the project. Initial observations suggest that the problem seems to be located in the fact that the organizers and the local community hold divergent views related to the two respective crises, environmental and market, both viewed as paramount. It seems that, perhaps, the leaders have not been able to link effectively the economic crisis faced by the Saskatchewan farming community with the global ecological crisis that threatens the entire natural environment.

The outside organizers, consisting of members of the PIHE, introduced the project to the community as a demonstration model to promote more practical measures to respond to the global ecological crisis. The local community leaders, consisting of RM and Craik town administrators, were hopeful that this project would create an economic opportunity for the community. They felt that their elected positions in the community gave them the mandate to make decisions to develop initiatives for the well being of the community. The town and Rural Municipality (RM) administrators accepted the initial proposal hoping to make the town economically viable at a critical time when the local farm economy was in distress and the town's continuing existence was threatened. It would be safe to state that there was a profound contradiction of values between the two groups of organizers. In order for both the outside (PIHE) and the local (RM and Town of Craik administrators) leaders to gain a more widespread acceptance by the other local people, perhaps they needed to place more emphasis on, and demonstrate the economic benefits, of the sustainability plan.

This contradiction between the economy and environment is expressed in the CSLP web site's home page vision statement: "The Town and the Rural Municipality of Craik, therefore, propose to embark on a joint long-term project in search of ways of living that

⁶ Initially, it was not clear to me which buildings were to be retrofitted. Were the buildings intended those owned by the municipality or all town buildings? The CSLP Time-Line document states the intent was “to explore retrofitting potential of existing buildings on town and RM property” (CSLP Time-Line document). This would include the rink, town hall and RM buildings (Interviewee # 11, December 13, 2008). In 2006, the town requested an energy review from the Saskatchewan Research Council Office of Energy Conservation (Fissel, R., 2006). To their credit, the town has complied with most recommendations made in that report. Renewable energy options were not suggested.

address the issue of sustainability and rural revitalization” (Craik Sustainable Living Project, 2006). In other words, the leaders have a commitment to resolving the environmental issue along with an awareness of the need for alternate economic development in rural Saskatchewan. An analysis of the mission statement reveals that these two key issues are being promoted as the basis for the project but the project mission statement presents them simply as two goals, “sustainability and rural revitalization,” without addressing the tension between the two. Therefore, in the current development of the Craik project, the key question that emerges is the extent to which the local people understand and accept the underlying principles that drive the project’s ecological concern. In other words, to what degree are the project’s ecological concerns relevant (or not) to the local people’s economic concerns? Furthermore, to what degree can the project leaders define the project as a response to the community’s economic needs to adjust to and profit from the dominant market economy?

This community project constitutes a rich environment within which to explore the factors that empower people to act for social change. The town of Craik’s vision could exemplify a model for both social and economic renewal in rural Saskatchewan. Therefore, this project provides a unique case study wherein to study the dynamics that hinder and facilitate effective social change.

Sociologists of social movements, such as Alberto Melucci, have emphasized that one of the key components in any contemporary social movement is consciousness. Consciousness implies that people become aware of contradictions in their social reality and are critical of their own role in creating that reality (Friere, 1993; Touraine, 1995). Corresponding with consciousness, according to Melucci, people need to relate their own issues to those being addressed by the movement in order to be empowered to act for change (1996). Based on this premise, this thesis argues with Melucci that the leaders’ awareness of the local people’s concerns must be integral to any strategy for social change.

1.5 The Research Questions

The project at Craik is attempting to address two primary concerns that could be complementary or conflictual depending on the approach taken. It could be claimed that

the Craik project's remarkable initiative has stalled because the leaders have not been able to adequately include the economic concerns of most local residents. In order to determine the reasons for the project's delay, this thesis aims to identify the factors that have not been adequately recognized by the leaders and therefore have limited the project's potential.

Based on early observational field research, it appears that when they were developing the CSLP, the social, cultural and economic factors were not adequately considered by leaders from outside (PIHE) and the community (Town and RM administrators). Given that the level of acceptance of the project amongst the farming population is low, it is important to identify the possible factors that could explain the low acceptance level. In order to determine what these factors are, the main issues to be understood in my research are: (1) the facilitating factors for the eco-project which may be dependant upon the degree of awareness of the need for sustainability actions among community members; (2) the non-facilitating factors which may relate to the role of the leadership in effecting cultural change; (3) the CSLP leader's sensitivity to the local community's economic needs and the type of interrelationship between outside (Prairie Centre for Human Ecology) leadership and the local community CSLP leaders (town and RM of Craik elected representatives) and the local community citizens. This complexity of interwoven factors together lead to the central Research Question: **What are the cultural and social factors that inhibit the Craik project from meeting its stated environmental and economic goals?**

To address these questions at Craik, I use a critical ethnographic methodology. The aim of critical research is to theoretically assess a phenomenon in relation to the historical whole with the goal of supporting people's activity to resist oppression of dominant social structures (Ritzer, 2000, 277). Ethnographic methodology is congruent with this goal since it allows use of multiple sources to ensure that all relevant aspects and views of the situation are included in the analysis. The data is gathered through "selected episodes of participant observation, combined with partially structured interviews" (Muecke, 1994, 199).

1.6 Outline of the thesis

Chapter one has introduced the topic for the thesis, the context and the research questions. Chapter two introduces critical new social movement theory as an appropriate theoretical framework for the study and chapter three outlines the operationalization of a critical ethnographic methodology. The remaining chapters will present the data and analysis as follows: Chapter four presents the facilitating factors for the project. Chapter five presents the constraining factors as represented by a petition and an analysis of related factors. This preliminary analysis leads to a deeper theoretical analysis in chapter six followed by the final chapter seven that presents the summary and conclusions of the thesis.

Critical social movement theories are useful to identify the factors required for social change. The key to understanding the social movements' role related to the development of consciousness and consequent social change is addressed by the Italian sociologist, Alberto Melucci (1980, 1985, 1996, 1998), who provides a theoretical framework for a broad critical analysis of new social movements.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

New social movement theory has developed over the last twenty-five as an attempt to explain the shift in social movements from economic and political concerns to ones related to cultural identity and autonomy. Because it is a relatively new theoretical development, the language describing it is somewhat ambiguous. The next two sections offer a background for understanding new social movement theory. They also provide a context for appreciating this theoretical development and explaining how and why it advances social movement theory to prioritize the cultural aspects involved in contemporary efforts for social change. Therefore, this chapter will explain why I chose new social movement theory and some of the insights that it provides for understanding social change. These insights are used to generate a sociological analysis of the CSLP. The theoretical origins of new social movement theory can be traced to the Frankfurt school's critical theory.

2.1.1 The Frankfurt Critical school

The Frankfurt School's critical theorists provide a foundation for social movement theories and shift from Marx's emphasis on economic domination to the cultural domination of modern society, arguing that modern society is controlled primarily by the idea systems of the social elites. They argue that this domination pervades all aspects of the cultural world which results in an almost universal form of false consciousness. Therefore, the critical school concentrates its critique on liberation of contemporary society from cultural oppression (Ritzer, 2000).

The critical school adopted Weber's differentiation between formal rationality and substantive rationality, maintaining that substantive rationality serves the values of

justice, peace and happiness, whereas formal rationality serves the forces of domination that are based in the capitalist market economy (Ritzer, 2000). In this context, Herbert Marcuse, a founding member of the Frankfurt critical school, argues that, although modern society seems to be based in rationality, “this society is irrational as a whole” (quoted in Ritzer, 2000, 278). Marcuse sees technology in modern capitalism as leading to a totalitarianism that suppresses individuality and results in what he calls “one dimensional society.” This refers to a society in which individuals have lost the ability to think critically. Like Marx, he does not say that technology is inherently the problem but advocates that technology could instead be employed in the interests of freedom. It is the social relations surrounding the technology that determine if it contributes to liberation or exploitation (Ritzer, 2000).

Social movement theories examine groups who attempt to resist domination and create social change. New social movement theories, based in critical theory, see these new movements taking action for themselves rather than being restricted to reacting to the dominant culture. The next section will differentiate between different approaches to social movement theory and, explain more specifically, why I chose new social movement theory over other theories that explain social movements.

2.1.2 Overview of social movement theory

William Carroll introduces social movements by saying simply that they are the means to understand how social change happens, as they practice the “politics of transformation” (Carroll, 1977, 7). This definition can be further understood in more critical terms, as politics that could “reflect and validate our role as agents of change rather than victims in the making of history” (Melucci in Carroll, 1997, 7). This section introduces a general theoretical understanding of social movements in order to explain their relevance to this sociological inquiry.

Social movement theory can generally be understood as dualistic, meaning that theorists tend to have taken two differing approaches. In the US, resource mobilization theory (RMT) focuses on the deprivation and consequent mobilization of political resources from within the dominant social order (Bleyer, Peter, 1997; Buechler, Steven

M., 1995; McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald, 1987; Tilly, Charles, 1985). In Europe, the new social movement theoretical approaches (NSM) have focussed critically, on the potential of collective agency to resist issues of cultural domination in contemporary societies (Klandermans, 1991; Carroll, William K., 1997; Cohen, Jean L., 1985; Melucci, Alberto, 1980; Touraine, Alain, 1985).

Prior to the 1970s the dominant view of social movements as spontaneous, disorganized rebels and revolutionaries. Sociologists John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1987), who were instrumental in establishing RMT theory in the US, challenged this previous negative view of social movements by using a Weberian perspective. They justified these groups by arguing that they are best understood as instrumentally rational organizations employing the most effective means to achieve their desired ends. Another proponent of RMT theory, Charles Tilly, adds a Marxian perspective closer to that of the NSM theories. He also views them as rational groups, but adds that since they have little formal power, to achieve their ends they need to maintain a sustained challenge to the state (Carroll, 1997).

While RMT theories provide us with detailed descriptions of how social movements organize, they do not answer why social movements need to organize. The NSM theories answer the why question. They are theoretically oriented more in a cultural than political base, focussing on the need to counteract the cultural domination. To further explain, the RMT analysis focuses on changes within the dominant capitalist economic structure, whereas the NSM theories view the resistance as one against the cultural domination of the capitalist economic structure itself. As such, NSM theorists explain movements in terms of the actors and focus their struggles on cultural autonomy from the domination of the main social and cultural patterns.

2.3 New social movement theory

Alberto Melucci's theoretical framework is most appropriate to understand new social movement theory in relation to the Craik research. He defines the new movements as, "networks composed of a multiplicity of groups that are dispersed, fragmented, and submerged in everyday life, and which act as cultural laboratories" (Melucci in Carroll,

1997: 17). He asserts, in a constructivist approach, that new social movements are based not only in material interest but also in the discursive practices that may ultimately lead people “to rethink what we mean by community, or power, or reason, or passion, or consciousness, or energy, or security, or development or democracy” (Magnusson and Walker in Carroll, 1997, 17). Melucci’s theory was deeply influenced by his former teacher and mentor, Alain Touraine.

2.3.1 New social movement theory and the actor

Alain Touraine, who is credited with coining the term “new social movement,” explains the basis for NSM theory and offers an analysis that is fundamentally different to Tilly and the other resource mobilization theorists (Carroll, 1997, 18). He argues that contemporary society is a programmed society which structurally limits individual capacity for action. Rather than a functional view which examines the means that movements use within the social structure, he takes an action theoretical approach within the classic sociological question of the structure versus agency dichotomy. In other words, whereas the resource mobilization theorists’ focus on advocacy in relation to the dominant social structure, Touraine focuses on the significance of the actor to affect change of the structure itself. Furthermore, Touraine asserts that sociology’s role is to assist the actor by making social relations visible since those relations are masked by domination or ideology (Touraine, 1985).

For Touraine, the subject of contemporary sociology itself is the study of social movements and, from this perspective; he argues that contemporary society structurally limits individual capacity for action. His philosophical view is reflected in his foundational statement, that, “the way we understand new social movements will be determined by our view of reality; a ‘social movement’ like most notions in the social sciences, does not describe a part of ‘reality’, but is an element of a specific mode of constructing social reality” (Touraine, 1985: 752). Touraine develops this view further by arguing that there are two competing logics: one reinforces the market system by the maximization of the production of goods such as money, power and information. The other is what he terms the logic of liberty, which consists in the effort made by each

individual to construct and defend his/her individuality, rather than be subordinated to the dominant social order. His understanding of the dialectical relationship between these two logics acquires a special importance in societies where the cultural industries have acquired a dominant role (Touraine, 1985).

For Touraine, the significance of social movements is not as groups of actors holding specific grievances against institutions, but as movements acting against the prevailing cultural model. He states that “the central conflict today is the control of the main cultural patterns, which consist of representations of truth, production, and morality” (1985: 760). This is because, for Touraine, those who control the cultural patterns also control people’s spiritual, social, and economic values. Therefore, for him, the central conflict is over control of the main cultural patterns. This view is reiterated and enhanced by Melucci’s work.

Melucci defines culture as “the strategies by which the language and values of different social groups reflect a particular sense of community” (1998, 425). Cultural industries include global information systems such as mass media, the press, medical and educational systems or, “the production of symbolic goods that is, of information and images, of culture itself” (Touraine, 1985, 779). The consciousness of the actor is limited because it interprets situations in terms of elements of the established social system which shape the cultural filters through which meanings emerge. He also states that consciousness implies awareness of general representations of cultural life and that the general relations of production have a central role in determining political choices and relationships (Touraine, 1985). These relations of production affect both the environment and the local economic status of agriculturalists at Craik.

Melucci augments Touraine’s critique by adding that the world media systems now essentially function as the manufacturer of master codes which have become new forms of domination. The power of these codes is not primarily in the economic or political system but in their capacity to organize the minds of the people. This explains the basis for new social movement’s concern that cultural domination is creating a totalitarian ideology resulting in a global false consciousness. Social movements offer alternatives to the hegemonic codes resulting from the domination of the capitalist market and its attendant media systems (Melucci, 1996).

Melucci argues that an essential defining feature of a new social movement is the extent to which its actions challenge the dominant social structure. Therefore, according to Melucci, social movements may be viewed as agents of counter-hegemony. By acting independently of the established structures of the state, these groups create space for envisioning different priorities and the advancement of alternative methods of social organization (Carroll, 1997). In critical theory, the organization of the established structures of the dominant order is referred to as hegemony. A counter-hegemony is an attempt to create an alternative to the dominant order.

2.3.2 Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci provided an explanation of the dominant forces of advanced capitalism in contemporary society in terms of what he called hegemony. He argued that a hegemonic bloc of alliances constitute the dominant governing forces in contemporary society and this bloc presents its interests as universal while selectively providing concessions to prevent resistance from below. In his analysis, this control functions both within the state and within civil society's agents of socialization such as the school, church, and family. In this manner, the prevailing consciousness is diffused and internalized throughout society as the normal order of things. In this way, Gramsci explains, that people consent to their own oppression. He poses hope for emancipation from this cultural tyranny through the concept of a counter-hegemony that could provide a strategy for transformation and emancipation (Carroll, 1997, 24). Melucci develops Gramsci's analysis by stating that the new forms of power are not based on economic resources themselves but in the world media system. "The principle power is embedded in their capacity to organize the minds of the people" (Melucci, 1996, 179). The thesis assumes that unless the Craik people have developed their capacity to critique the current political and economic systems, they will not have sufficient means to organize and create a counter-hegemony. Antonio Melucci examines cultural aspects of social change needed for the development of this critique.

2.3.3 Cultural aspect

Based both in both Touraine's theory and a Gramscian framework, Melucci develops a "theoretical combination of a socio-political analysis of power and the means for moving from resistance to emancipation." His view advances critical theory's account of social movements as "instances of political praxis under late modern capitalism" (Carroll, 1997: 23). Melucci argues that forms of collective mobilization are evidence that "the dominant classes have failed to impose total unity on society" and he emphasizes that we have a society so dominated by the economy and political structure, that the need to shift the emphasis to culture is crucial (1980: 217). In this regard, Melucci asserts that new social movements' concern with aspects of cultural life is key to liberation from dominance by the prevailing social order of the capitalist economic system.

Melucci also presents an interesting and critical dimension to the understanding of cultural domination. His concern is that the global information networks have begun to influence the very core of human identity and that through them reality itself is being recreated. Thus, for Melucci, challenging the accepted cultural codes means empowering people in a way that they are able to resist dominant forces, including global forces. This response becomes the vital means for resistance and emancipation. He compares movements to prophets who highlight the inequalities that society manifests and exhorts people to resist those inequalities. In this manner he asserts that communities who mobilize themselves have potential to ensure some autonomy and control over their own visions and concerns (Melucci, 1996).

Reflective of the influence of Touraine's model of two logics, Melucci identifies in social movements two constitutive elements. The first element consists of the notion that collective action is "the ensemble of the various types of conflict-based behaviour in a social system. ...A collective action implies the existence of a struggle for the appropriation and orientation of social values and resources, each of the actors being characterized by a specific solidarity" (Melucci, 1980: 202). The second element specifies a second level of collective action. It "includes all the types of behaviour which transgress the norms that have been institutionalized in social roles, which go beyond the rules of the political system and/or which attack the structure of a society's class

relations” (Melucci, 1980: 202). This latter aspect of Melucci’s theoretical analysis helps to determine what aspects of the CSLP can be conceptualized as an effective social movement, depending on their acceptance of or resistance to previously accepted norms. The next section introduces the psychological aspects of social movements that enable actors’ actions to be effective.

2.3.4 Socio-psychological aspect

Mark Warren (1993) examines the motivations for different forms of social movements from a more psychological perspective that includes the interests, identities, and functions that define a group’s existence. He focuses on what unites people to form what he terms a “self-organized group” and he identifies two primary types of motivations which lead to group formation. The first motivation refers to the fact that people wish to press for a common cause, which likely is economic, but they will “lack the internal imperatives for critique and discourse” (Warren, 189). In the second type of motivation, he describes what he terms the counter-hegemonic orientation. Counter-hegemonic social groups are composed of individuals disillusioned with corporate ethics and who question prevailing norms as they relate to the self. This second form of group closely correlates with Melucci’s second definition of a social movement that is concerned with confronting existing social relations. These three theorists, Touraine, Melucci and Warren, together help to define the problems related to the CSLP project.

The local CSLP leaders appear to have the solidarity to fight for the services needed to maintain and revitalize their community and therefore the capacity for the organization required to initiate a full scale development in support of that revitalization. This indicates that their actions fit with Melucci’s definition of the first form of social movement that focuses on the pursuit of a common cause. The level of social and political consciousness needed for the second form of movement, as identified by Melucci, may not be present and this could prevent them from engaging in a comprehensive critique of the current energy system. This critique is needed in order to direct the project’s primary focus on renewable energy sources. Therefore, the directly related question might be, as stated above, the extent to which the leaders engaged the local people in the construction of an alternative discourse.

Our current energy system is tied to our economic system and the imperatives of the economic system dominate all of our social systems. In this context, Allan Schnaiberg explains more specifically the deep need for environmental movements to develop a solid alternative discourse.

2.3.5 Treadmill of production

Allan Schnaiberg (2000), in a study related to my current work, examines contradictions affecting the development of recycling programs in Chicago's metropolitan area. He notes shifts in the history of recycling programs that illustrate a change in the focus on waste from a means to "save the earth" to waste as a commodity that could generate revenues. He develops the concept of "the treadmill of production" that allows him to locate the analysis in the context of the global economic system which dominates contemporary society in such a manner that local economic and environmental sustainability initiatives become non-viable (156). Schnaiberg's concept of the treadmill allows him to illustrate the compounding processes of expanding production and increased consumption through political alliances of private capital, labour and governments who create short-term solutions that result in speeding up the treadmill of production but not in supporting long-term sustainability. These larger processes also undermine smaller, locally based initiatives' capacities to compete. This effect has been further increased by the global economy that substantially hinders the bargaining power of community leaders.

Since most local leaders tend to align with these larger global markets, Schnaiberg argues, "they perpetuate their own weakness by their increased commitment to the treadmill" (159). Schnaiberg examines how communities have tried to find alternative means to maintain local control over the organization of the recycling programs with varying degrees of success. He illustrates that the global market forces dominate in such a way that they leave very little opportunity for local sustainability initiatives. Over time, the community based recyclers become more directed by the profit imperatives of the market than by concerns for the environment. As a result, recycling has become a less ecologically and socially oriented action over the last decade (160).

Schnaiberg's approach presents a challenge to think about environmental reform strategies that will actually transform communities in a positive way. It points out that, in advanced industrial capitalist societies, everything is influenced in one way or another by economics, which gets to the core of the problem for sustainability issues in the CSLP project under study by including the economic aspects. His theory highlights the problem that the CSLP faces since they, like almost all of contemporary society, are already caught into what Schnaiberg refers to as the treadmill of production and so the challenge is to imagine and construct an alternative. Furthermore, Schnaiberg identifies what is needed in order for the environmental and economic issues to be complementary. Schnaiberg states that to counter the economic imperatives⁷, education is needed for both economic agents and community residents to develop in ways that are for the common good⁸ (198).

Schnaiberg contends therefore that, education is needed so that the people clearly understand the issues and why there need to be alternatives. This raises questions about the Craik project's need to look more seriously at education that is related to the economic as well as environmental issues, to address them in a coherent and complementary manner.

One of the features of new social movements identified earlier is that they often do not have a coherent program. The next sub-section introduces this challenge in relation to these nebulous movements and describes how this could be a problem at Craik.

⁷ These economic imperatives are accumulation, labour productivity, competition and profit maximization. In a capitalist economic system, all production is subordinated and defined according to these imperatives and so the market dominates every aspect of our society and culture (Naimen, 2008, 82).

⁸ The common good refers to conditions that are equally to everyone's advantage. Examples include: an equally accessible public health care system, a just legal system, an unpolluted natural environment and a flourishing economic system. The common good then consists of having the social systems that benefit all people, a good which is acceptable to all and from which no one is excluded. All persons, for example, enjoy the benefit of an unpolluted environment (Velasquez, 2008).

2.3 6 Ambiguity in social movements

Similar to Melucci, Alan Scott (1990), who has examined the green movement in Europe, points out that since there is no clear unified phenomenon that can be identified as a social movement, the actual definition of a social movement is complex, contradictory and ambiguous. Scott's ideal-type for social movements includes the following characteristics: A social movement is characterized by being social or cultural in nature and its focus is on lifestyles. Its aim is to mobilize civil society at the grassroots rather than to pursue power. Finally, new social movements are located in civil societies and are not concerned with changing the state directly. Instead, they attempt to bring about social change through the transformation of values and the creation of alternative lifestyles. His description of new social movements corresponds, in some respects, to the project at Craik, where members of civil society are attempting social change through the development of alternative lifestyles based on sustainable living practices. Scott's social movement characteristics complement Melucci's contributions for an understanding of the complications at Craik.

Alan Scott addresses the problem that there is considerable confusion within the ideologies employed by ecological movements. "For example, in West Germany the Green movement was perceived as both progressive in its critique of industrialization and conservative in its longing for a communal, rural society" (1990, 99). He asserts that "rather than view ecological ideology as coherent and unambiguous, as its critics and some of its supporters have tended to do, it may be better to view it as disparate and eclectic in a number of respects" (100). This diverse reality may well illustrate the social situation that exists at Craik, and would be a means to understand why it has not progressed faster. It may be found that there are divergent needs, visions and goals, and, therefore, differing routes to achieve them. The next section explains further the rationale for using new social movement theory and why it is an appropriate framework for exploring the issues at Craik.

2.3.7 Summary of New Social Movement theory

This sub-section provides an overview of some significant new social movement theorists. The chapter also explains that new social movement theory, based on critical theory, is focused on emphasising substantive rationality to counter the totalitarian outcomes of the capitalist market's basis in instrumental rationality. As Melucci and Touraine explain, the dominant hegemony has been promoted and maintained largely through the global media systems. New social movements provide space for counter-hegemonic actions that promote diversity through perspectives that are alternative to this 'norm'. "They assume the capacity to disengage themselves from the norms of the reproduction of behaviour and consumption, in order to participate in the production of cultural models" (Touraine, 1988, 11).

According to Carroll (1997), social and political theorists have been struggling over the last twenty-five years to articulate and define these ambiguous groups of movements dubbed as 'new social movements'. Carroll explains that traditional social movements have been able to organize to hold the powers of the capitalist market at bay to certain degrees. However, the movements inevitably found that they hit barriers where, despite their efforts for emancipation, the dominant hegemony is maintained and the goals of freedom and equality are limited in their outcomes. Examples of these barriers include, the 'glass ceiling' discussed in feminist literature (Luxton, 1990, 2001; Ridgeway, 2001; Lynes and Heilman, 2006; Thomas-Hunt and Phillips; Eagley and Carley, 2007), the 'systemic racism' noted in new racism studies (Fisher, 2005; Zong, 1988, 1994, 2007), and the concept of the 'treadmill of production' that is explained in numerous agricultural and environmental studies, (Hay, 1992; Lind, 1995;; Oliphant, 1997; Rees, 1990, 2003; Scheer, 2001; Schnaiberg, 1980, 2000; Ikerd, 2005; Droege, 2006; McLaughlin, 2000, 2007).

Recognizing the complicated nature of resistance to the dominant power structures, new social movements have accepted that a unified revolution has not been possible and instead, they seek to create lived practices that embody the desired change in specific instances. Therefore, we find new social movements, although conscious of the global forces of oppression, have focused their efforts more on the micro factors of processes that need to change as they attempt to shift perspectives from below in order to

lessen sabotage from the macro factors from above (Carroll, 1997). In this manner they “isolate simple elements of analysis within the complexity of historical becoming” (Touraine, 1988, 11).

Touraine states that classical sociology has reduced the analysis of social activity to understanding the actor’s position within the system. New social movements see all situations to be the result of relations among actors who are defined by both cultural orientations and social conflicts. It is not enough to say the movement is an answer to a situation but what is important is, that they call into question that the ruling class manages most of the cultural resources and it is also essential to recognise that “the individual actor participates in the production of a situation at the same time as she or he is conditioned by it” (Touraine, 1988, 10). Therefore, we can say that new social movements rise above politics and “assert themselves as producers rather than consumers of social situations, as capable of questioning social situations rather than merely responding to them” (Touraine, 1988, 11).

At Craik there is a localized action that is ideologically based in values of substantive rationality rather instrumental or formal rationality. The CSLP advances an alternate vision to the one promoted by the dominant economic and political system. The next section introduces a key figure in the initiation of the Craik project who expresses that it is critical to develop an alternative and ecologically focused world view.

2.4 Social change and environmental sustainability

The key initiator of the CSLP project, Lynn Oliphant, is explicit in his criticism. In a 1997 article, he states that the institutions of our social system are dominated by economic concerns whose goals are exponential growth and that they exclude environmental concerns. Therefore, he argues that our institutions are “designed to train people to function in a growth oriented economy and to become mindless consumers” (58). He further argues that, to find economic alternatives, we have to look towards an economic system that is based upon a sustainable world view. Such an alternative is provided by Hermann Scheer (2001) who answers the problem of conflicting environmental and economic needs.

Scheer (2001) explains that since the current economic system is based on a finite energy system that is environmentally destructive, the solution is to develop an economic system based primarily on renewable energy sources. In this case, the question is to what degree have the leaders of the CSLP project developed their understanding and vision for a renewable energy economy as a basis for this environmentally sustainable project? Therefore, this thesis' goal is to examine the degree to which the CSLP has been able to develop a vision of an economy based on renewable energy.

In his second book, *Solar Economy* (2002) Scheer reinforces his argument in *The Solar Manifesto* that fossil fuel emissions are making life on this planet unsustainable so we need an immediate transition to renewable sources of energy:

Global civilization can only escape the life threatening fossil fuels resource trap if every effort is made to bring about an immediate transition to renewable and environmentally sustainable resources and thereby end the dependence on fossil fuels (7).

He furthers this previous point by arguing that renewable sources of energy will also provide new economic development:

Making the groundbreaking transition to an economy based on solar energy and solar resources will do more to safeguard our common future than any other economic development since the industrial revolution (10).

He explains that environmentalism is not just a utopian ideal. Not only the environment but also the current global economy, dependant on fossil fuels, is presently in danger of collapse. To counter this collapse, it is essential to develop alternative energy sources as quickly as possible. These changes need to be developed at the local and micro-community level rather than on the macro scale of the current energy systems. Furthermore, those communities who initiate these changes may need to act counter to the current dominant economic and political systems in order to become more economically advantaged (Scheer, 2002).

2.5 Political and moral economy

David Held's analysis⁹ of political decision making in an international globalized context explains, similar to Gramsci, that the state exercise of authority requires the consent of the governed and mechanisms through which the policy makers can be held accountable. While the assumption of accountability is the basis for the modern democratic state, it is no longer sufficient; governance needs also be assessed according to the governing body's effectiveness. Is the government acting in their own interests, the interests of the people of Saskatchewan to protect them from climate change, or the corporate interests? Since global politics today are related not to traditional concerns, but to a large diversity of social and ecological questions, modern political mechanisms call to question the traditional categories that shaped modern political thought (2005). While Held's analysis is on a globalized scale, it offers valuable insights into the role of state in a contemporary world with a global warming crisis.

Similar to Held's analysis, Bob Jessop denies that there are any one set of social relations that can determine events. Jessop's purpose is to enhance Marxist analysis of the state by integrating it with other concepts and principles to develop a more complete critique of state and political economy. In this way, Jessop advances beyond Marxist reductionism and he, "rules out the possibility that a single set of mechanisms could explain the concrete, complex development of social life" (Jessop, 1990:12). Jessop develops Gramsci's concept of hegemony through a new concept he coins 'contingent necessity' here different factors cause a chain reaction and these factors interact. This allows him to explain the complexity of state actions (93).

Jessop's argument that culture and economy are related in a complex manner is reinforced by Andrew Sayer, who advocates a view of the state where culture and economy are not necessarily in conflict. He argues that instead they are related and he calls for the formation of a discourse that connects a morally based and political economy. "The moral economy refers to responsibilities with respect to others and to the nature and realities of goods, services and the environment" (Sayer, 1999: 68).

⁹ David Held, British political theorist is a prominent figure in the field of international relations (2000, 2005).

Bob Jessop, University of Essex, is working since 2000 on cultural political economy (Jessop, 1990, 2009). Andrew Sayer, University of Essex, major focus is the moral and political economy (Sayer, 1999, 2009).

The next section provides a summary of the new social movement theory discussed above, emphasising the features that are most relevant to the study at Craik.

2.6 Summary of theoretical framework

To theoretically analyze the dynamics of the Craik community and assess the community actors' capacity to sustain these kinds of social change, I use a theoretical framework based in new social movement theory incorporating the work of the theorists introduced in this chapter. While Alberto Melucci's new social movement theory was found to be most suited to my research at Craik, I have also incorporated specific aspects of the other theorists discussed in this chapter to provide a theoretical framework. To further explain this framework I will summarize and list below the theoretical contributions as they relate to the study.

William Carroll states that 'new social movements' should be conceptualized as representing a multiplicity of groups dispersed, fragmented and submerged in everyday life. Alain Touraine brings forward the question, in what ways does the CSLP articulate challenges to the dominant models of truth, production and morality which might lead to alternative patterns for people's spiritual, social and economic values.

Alberto Melucci provides an analytical construct of social movements as a collective action that challenges the structure of social relations. His work raises questions: What are the material and discursive practices that are leading people to rethink what is meant by community, power, and development? What information networks are present to help CSLP members resist the dominant classes' agendas and help them to construct an alternative model of development? How do groups create a level of solidarity necessary to transgress norms of the social roles and rules of the political system and to attack the structure of class relations?

Alan Scott defines social movements as being social or cultural in nature, primarily aimed at mobilizing civil society in order to bring about social change. His work raises the questions: Have the CSLP leaders developed a shared understanding of the need for alternative energy and how it could contribute to addressing local economic problems? What ideologies are present among the members of the CSLP?

Mark Warren identifies the defining aspect of a social movement as a capacity to critique the prevailing social order. His writing suggests the questions: What are the interests, identities and functions that define the CSLP group's existence and structures motivations? Are members motivated by a common cause or counter-hegemonic orientation?

Allan Schnaiberg points to the pervasive influence of the economy and that therefore, social movements need to empower communities to make alternate choices regarding both the economic and community needs in the context of the environment. In this light, the questions raised in relation to Craik are: How are the treadmill of production and the global economy influencing people's behaviour and affecting the capacity to develop a program for transition to renewable energy? What are the local expressions of the tensions between neo-liberal economic imperatives and ecological and social sustainability? Is it possible for environmental reforms to transform communities in a positive way? If yes, what are some of the possible strategies for bringing about these reforms?

Hermann Scheer argues for an economic system based on sustainable energy systems. What are the elements of an economic system based primarily on renewable energy sources? What are the barriers to developing an economy based on renewable energy sources?

A common element among these theorists refers to the relationship of environment and the economy, and the primary issue is related to the fact that everything is structured by the economy. Held, Jessop and Sawyer suggest that the relationship between economics and environment is complex and requires inclusion of political and social factors to develop what Sayer terms a moral economy. They contribute the underlying question: To what extent does the CSLP put forward a model that represents a challenge to the current economic and political system and demonstrate an alternative for of organization to the dominant model?

The theorists introduced in this chapter all view social movements as having the capacity to challenge the prevailing principles of production and distribution and to confront existing social relations. These theorists' views highlight the relationship between two levels of concern, the economy and environment, and they correspond to the

key contradictions that appear to be present at Craik where some people have embraced an alternative view to societal norms and others have not. The new social movement theorists' conceptualize new social movements as groups that raise global issues through local and immediate actions. This definition is most appropriate to the analysis of the CSLP where they are attempting to address both global environmental crisis and a local economic decline through specific actions in their local community. Focusing primarily on Melucci's and Schnaiberg's analysis, I will examine the tensions in the Craik community between the goals of the PIHE and local Craik leadership and the expectations of the other local community members. Using this theoretical framework, my research will examine the CSLP to uncover the factors involved in the contradictions, tensions and dynamics between local economic concerns at Craik and global environmental concerns, to determine if it is possible for them to have a compatible solution.

Table 2.1 on the next page presents key factors to explain the theoretical development discussed in this chapter. The hegemonic bloc as described in Antonio Gramsci's theory is illustrated in the first section of the table (***in standard bolded font**). The next section describes the defining features of resource mobilization based social movement groups (****italicized bolded font***) and the third section explains defining features of the new social movements (***standard non-bolded font**). This table illustrates the differences in focus between these groups of movements and their relationship to the dominant social structure or hegemony. As with any table, there is a danger of oversimplification but in order to apply these concepts to a table that is unavoidable and the table may assist the explanation of this theoretical development. In the context of the Frankfurt critical school theory, the three goals of the Enlightenment were liberty, justice and equality. The critical school theorists argue that the advancement of modernity has been limited by the emphasis on instrumental rationality and they advocate a return to these values. As stated above, the new social movement theories explain that while the RMT movements have advanced the causes of justice and equality, they are limited in their actions by structural barriers within the institutions of the dominant social system and the attendant information networks that propagate the norms of those dominant systems. These barriers maintain and perpetuate the power of the hegemonic bloc.

Table 2.1: Theoretical Summary of major characteristics of a hegemonic bloc, resource mobilization groups (RMTs), and new social movement groups (NSMs)*

	Hegemonic bloc	<i>Resource mobilization movements (RMTs)</i>	New Social Movements (NSMs)
Social Organization	Dominant social structures maintained through religious, economic, political, educational and legal institutions	<i>Groups of minorities organizing solidarity who participate in the emancipatory struggle to construct for an alternative to the hegemonic bloc</i>	Multiple and diverse <i>groups of minorities</i> empowering people with the freedom to think and act autonomously and creatively
Source of Political Power	Political power aligned with dominant class's economic power	<i>Political power originating in subordinate class's solidarity</i>	Power in constructing and living their views
Agency	Global media systems reproduce dominant system's ideas and values Discourage agency	<i>Encouraging to have agency to act and think for themselves Education and consciousness raising</i>	<i>Encouraging agency to act and think for themselves,- may transgress dominant norms Education and consciousness raising</i> Enact their alternative cultures, identities and world views.
Goal	Maintenance of the capitalist economic system	<i><u>Justice and Equality</u></i>	<u>Liberty</u> - freedom of expression for alternative and diverse identities and values
	Instrumental values - based in capitalist market system	<i>Substantive values - based in socialist principles, within capitalism</i>	<i>Substantive value</i> - based in capitalism, and/or socialism
Membership Participation	Coerced consent	<i>Consensual participation Networks for solidarity</i>	Spontaneous and eclectic membership, may or may not form <i>Networks for solidarity</i>
Development of History	Linear progress - leading to a totalitarian global society	<i>Dialectic development of history</i>	Ambiguous development and futures.
Relationship to Nature	Nature as object, a commodity, not respectful of the earth, treadmill of production	<i>Differing attitudes towards the earth</i>	Holistic: social, environmental, and economic seen in relationship Respectful of the earth
Examples:	Capitalist governments and their supporting agencies	<i>Socialist movements, Labour movement, Civil rights movement, Socialist- Feminists, Environmental movement</i>	Intentional communities, Ethnic cultural practices, Ethnic self-determination groups, Eco-feminists, Raging grannies, Unschooling movement, Alternative medicines, Environmental and anti-nuclear groups.

*Features of the hegemonic bloc are **standard font bolded**, features of RMTs are *italicized font bolded* and features of NSMs are standard non-bolded font.

It is evident in the third section of Table 2.1, that the main concern for new social movements is liberty in comparison to the concern of the resource mobilization groups who were fighting for justice and equality. Theorists such as Touraine and Melucci argue that despite advancements made by earlier social movements, in the areas of equality and justice, the present pressing concern is for liberty which implies that the main concern for new social movements is diversity and identity. The new social movements are addressing the third enlightenment issue of liberty and freedom of expression which is seen to be threatened by the global information systems that propagate the idea systems of the elites to maintain the existing status quo. Furthermore, this limiting of diversity threatens the potential for a dialectical development of history.

In the analysis of the CSLP, the question that arises is to what extent the local population at Craik could be defined as part of a social movement that is committed to developing a sense of autonomy and is prepared to challenge or transgress the dominant norms as defined by the prevailing economic and political structures represented by the current provincial Saskatchewan and Canadian Federal governments. To review, the research question was: **What are the social and cultural factors that inhibit the Craik project from meeting its environmental and economic goals?** In the context of the theoretical framework developed in this chapter the research question may be stated more specifically as: **To what degree have the outside (Prairie Centre for Human Ecology) and community (Town and RM of Craik) project leaders been able to recognize and unify the ecological and economic goals of the CSLP?**

These questions can be broken into the following sub-questions: (1) What are the facilitating factors for the eco-project; to what degree is the local community committed to a view, similar to the one Oliphant has articulated, of a system based on a sustainable world view? (2) What are the constraining factors for the eco-project; what are the crucial aspects that have prevented the leadership and community from sharing the same views? (3) Are the leaders able to find a means to make the economic and environmental solutions compatible and are they sensitive to the community's economic needs? If so, how are they going to address an apparent divergence?

The leaders of the project at Craik appear to have a significant level of commitment to the project. On the one hand, this validates Scott's ideal type and the first

part of Melucci's two-fold definition but, on the other hand, it seems unlikely that other members of the local population in general are as prepared to confront existing social relations. Two questions remain: first, whether the CSLP leaders have a firm understanding of the pressing need for the change to renewable energy and, second, the degree that the leaders have the capacity to provide an explanation of how renewable energy could contribute to providing a practical alternative to the local people's economic situation.

Using this critical theoretical research approach, this study aims to examine the dynamics of social change within the context of the Craik project and to uncover its inherent contradictions. Hopefully, it will also be able to identify the necessary means to bridge economic and environmental concerns in a way that will be complimentary rather than conflicted. A critical, ethnographic approach is the methodology most suited for this analysis and this methodology will be explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

A methodological approach has been developed that meets both the theoretical and methodological demands. The theoretical framework examined points to explaining possible contradictions and tensions in social movements, especially in environmental movements. Exploration of the contradictions and tensions existing in the Craik project provides the key factors for this study. This chapter provides an explanation and justification of a qualitative research approach using a critical ethnological methodology framework and the main steps undertaken to conduct the field research.

Melucci states that, the degree of effectiveness of leadership is related to their “capacity to mobilize the past (that is, the values, norms, and resources, of the group) for the objectives of change” (1996, 343). Schnaiberg’s (2000) analysis correspondingly states that the main sources of contradictions and tensions are often rooted in the separation between leadership and the local people. The views of these two theorists provide the direction taken by the research project in the town of Craik.

3.2 Research Approach

Schnaiberg (2000) and Melucci (1996) may help to identify factors that are related to the slow development of the project at Craik. As mentioned above, Schnaiberg states that it is vital that the leaders be engaged with the community in an empowering manner. Melucci argues that, when leadership has limited resources, the circulation of information and maintenance of communication becomes vital (1996: 339). Based on these theorists, the research will focus on the following key issues: First, to learn the difference in levels of engagement between those on the CSLP committee and the general members of the community; second, to understand the different levels of acceptance of the project by members of the committee and other individuals in the town; third, to discern the difference in perception between the farming population and the project

leaders; fourth, to explore the different views about the community economic conditions' relationship to the larger social and economic structures.

3.2.1 Rationale for qualitative methodology

Given the nature of the inquiry and the theoretical issues raised by social movement theorists, the methodology selected for this study constitutes a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research methodologies help researchers “to see the strategic significance of context, and of the particular, in the development of our understandings and explanations of the social world” (Mason, 2002:1). A qualitative methodological approach directs the researcher to examine a social development through available local historical documents, archives, and in-depth interviews and also enables the researcher to place the study in a cultural context (Cresswell, 1998). It is important for this inquiry to understand the multifaceted aspects of the Craik community, so a qualitative research methodology is the most adequate research approach for this study.

Furthermore, since the theoretical framework of this study conceptualized the Craik project as a social movement, it was important to elicit responses from the movement's participants themselves to understand their views on identity, relations, and conflicts. The form of qualitative approach most suited to the in-depth study of the complexity of a specific social and cultural group such as the Craik community, is an ethnographic case study.

3.2.2 Rationale for a focused, critical ethnographic approach

The specific approach that most corresponded with the research goals is a focused, critical, ethnographic case study. First, as stated above, the study is an ethnographic one, since it seeks an in-depth understanding of the specific social and cultural factors affecting the project at Craik. It is a focused case study of a specific pre-defined issue, a sustainable living project in a small community in Saskatchewan. It has a critical point of view, because it involves the historical context; it examines assumptions related to decision-making within the CSLP; and it questions negative assumptions as to the economic feasibility of renewable energy in rural Saskatchewan.

Also, it questions assumptions regarding the relationship of the CSLP to the dominant economic structure.

Ethnography is defined by J.W. Cresswell as “the means for exploring cultural groups and assumes that within a group, behaviours are patterned and values and meanings are shared” (1998, 58). Since the strategies involved in ethnographic methods are designed to uncover features that are implicit in a culture and that would not be as evident to the members of a cohesive group, ethnographic research is best conducted by those who are not embedded in the cultural context (Morse and Richards, 2002). In this manner, the ethnographic approach allows researchers to be present with the group being studied while they do not belong to that group. At the same time, the researcher does not aim to achieve objectivity in a project by distancing himself or herself from the participants but instead interacts with them, often over a prolonged period of time. Therefore, “the researcher takes into account both the collective and idiosyncratic elements of a community’s life so that they can more deeply comprehend the specific issues that they are studying within that group” (2002: 49). Critical research aim is to “theoretically assess a phenomenon in relation to the historical whole with the goal of supporting people’s activity to resist oppression of dominant social structures” (Ritzer, 2000, 277). The critical ethnographic method allows for use of multiple methods of data collection such as field observation, document analysis, interviews and journal keeping which provided me with input from a variety of sources. These different sources supplied a broad base of data to give a holistic evaluation of relevant aspects of the situation for this specific case study. This provides an effective method for exploration of the specific contradictions and meanings that various members of the Craik community attach to the eco-project.

Also, if we are to conceptualize the CSLP as a social movement, then “there is reason to consult participants themselves to discover what shapes their identities, relations and the stakes of conflict” (Melucci, in Carroll, 1996, 17). Critical theorists aim not just to observe and analyse the social world but also to participate in its emancipatory transformation (Meucke, 1994; Thomas, 1993; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000; Harvey, 1990). Their starting point is the well known statement by Karl Marx,

“The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it” (Tucker, 2008, 145). Therefore, this study aims to examine the dynamics of a specific social change and to illuminate the inherent contradictions in order to assist in seeking solutions. A focussed ethnographic approach with a critical point of view will comprise the methodological research approach.

Focused ethnography differs from traditional ethnography since the area of study is specific rather than broad and aims to examine a topic that may be identified prior to the study (Muecke, 1994). Also, a focused ethnographic study is of a subgroup within one’s own culture rather than of a different culture (Morse and Richards, 2002). In this research project, the question was identified prior to the fieldwork and the culture is not markedly different from the researcher’s own. Also, the number of participants is limited and chosen because they were are persons who possessed knowledge and experience relative to the problem being examined. For these reasons, an ethnographic framework employing a focused approach and mixed methods of data collection is suitable to understand the context and complexity of the community and the project at Craik.

Lee Harvey (1990) states that critical scholarship involves questioning previously held assumptions. Similarly, Joe Kincheloe and Peter McLaren (2000) argue that critical theory is a means to “expose the way ideology constrains the desire for self-direction, and to confront the way power reproduces itself in the construction of human consciousness” (2000: 297). Jim Thomas adds that, “critical thinking begins with the premise that new ways of thinking become tools by which we can act upon our world instead of being passively acted upon” (Thomas, 1993, 61). Therefore, critical theory questions prior assumptions to uncover coercive mechanisms in the dominant social structure in order to support the development of the resistance to these mechanisms. As such, critical theorists do not remain value free; instead, their aim is to unmask the forces of oppression and support emancipation from those forces.

This study examines a number of assumptions related to the Craik project, particularly the assumptions that renewable energy development in rural Saskatchewan is not economically feasible. The critical ethnographic methodology provides a means to better understand how the local economic and environmental concerns can develop

compatible solutions, rather than opposed. This methodology also corresponds with the new social movement's critical theoretical framework that states movements need to challenge established social relations and make their own choices in order to effect change (Melucci, 357, 1996). Because a critical ethnographic approach aims to support social change, it is the methodology most suited for an analysis to uncover contradictions and tensions at Craik.

As explained above, ethnographic studies are rich and productive approaches because they allow for a variety of data collection techniques. Details of these techniques are explained in the next section.

3.3. Data collection

The research program employed a variety of methodological techniques and approaches that included two main phases: first, observation and document analysis; second, informal and in-depth interviews followed by revisiting respondents for clarification.

3.3.1 Phase one: Ethnographic fieldwork

3.3.1.1 Preliminary observational field work

Following Melucci's suggestions, the first task for researching a social movement is to gather extensive information about the community social interactions, cultural issues, and the economic and historical context (Melucci, 1996). This will provide the necessary interpretive data for a rich and unique analysis. The initial access phase for the examination of the Craik project involved extensive time over a one and a half year period between the spring of 2005 to the winter of 2006 spent in the field that included: examining documents in the local archives and museum, attending local festivals, visiting the eco-centre and farmer's market, camping in the regional campground, shopping at the town Co-op store, purchasing gas at the local gas station, examining the local newspaper and accessing the local library. This observational period revealed a typical rural Saskatchewan community that expresses nostalgia for the past and a degree of resignation

to their ongoing decline. It was assumed, therefore, that the setting for the Craik project could present a difficult situation wherein to initiate social change.

3.3.1.2 Review of literature

3.3.1.2.1 Previous existing studies

An examination of the *Prairie Midlakes Social Cohesion Project Report Summary* (2003) provided valuable demographic information about the town of Craik. This report was the result of an intensive study, undertaken in 2003, by a nine member research team from the University of Regina. This study reports that on the topic of climate change, the farmers in the Rural Municipality of Craik are amazingly aware of the global warming problem. This consciousness is apparent in the study since ninety percent of farmers in the RM of Craik stated that they have taken steps to alter their agricultural practices to diminish their contribution to greenhouse gas emissions. This statistic was remarkable in comparison to the eight other communities studied where the others indicated significantly less environmental awareness; some communities indicated as little as zero percent of the farmers had made any related changes. The researchers attributed this awareness among Craik farmers to educational aspect of the eco-project (Jones and Schmeiser, 2003). These findings raised the question: If farmers in the area were concerned and taking measures to address climate change, why were they not more involved with the project?

Brenda Marlene MacLauchlan's Masters Thesis in Environmental Education (2003) from Royal Roads University in Victoria, *Stories of Sustainability from Saskatchewan: Living Long and Well in a Dry Land*, provided an invaluable description of the CSLP. Her study is a rich narrative account testifying to the indomitable courage and committed spirit that initiated the CSLP project and also served to verify significant individuals in the development of the project. Neither the University of Regina's *Social Cohesion Report* nor Brenda MacLauchlan's thesis addressed the questions regarding the contradictions and tensions that are evident at Craik. It is my intent to address this gap in my thesis research.

3.3.1.2.2 Craik documents

I began to be interested in the Craik project the year I began the Master's program and as circumstances evolved, gaining access at Craik was relatively easy for me. My daughter is a jeweller and sold her work at the Eco-Centre. I met her there several times for lunch and we camped on several later occasions with my grandchildren in the municipal campground in the valley behind the Eco-Centre. I began to ask questions about the origins of the project and became curious about the related social dynamics. It occurred to me that the eco-project could be a very interesting case study. Later, when I decided to investigate the possibility of focusing my research on the project, I saw a notice on a bulletin board in the Eco-Centre inviting people to attend a CSLP meeting and so I decided to attend. I introduced myself as Naomi's mother and, thanks to her previous relationships in the community, I was readily accepted by the committee.

On November, 16, 2006, I attended the CSLP steering committee meeting where I introduced myself as a researcher and requested their permission to conduct a study of their project and community. The committee passed a unanimous motion supporting my research and provided access to their documents, including the CSLP steering committee meeting minutes and their extensive scrapbook of media articles concerning the project.

An examination of the minutes reveals that the key individuals involved with the project were few and consisted mainly of the town and RM administration. While it was advantageous to have these local leaders involved with the project, it raised questions about the general town population commitment and involvement. Furthermore, from the CSLP scrapbook of newspaper articles, photos and other previously published local documents, it was evident again that these same individuals were the sole leaders of the project.

It also became clear that a degree of non-acceptance of the project was present from the very beginning of the project. This was evidenced by a petition against the project that claiming that Town and RM administrators had misused funds. It was circulated in November 2005, and was signed by ninety-seven townspeople. In a town of four hundred and three people, that represented a substantial proportion of the population (CSLP scrapbook, 2005).

The town of Craik boasts the most comprehensive and well catalogued archives in rural Saskatchewan (Craik Oral History and Archives Society, 2006). This is a definite advantage for an ethnographic study, since the archives contain a fairly comprehensive history of the community and the local residents. An examination of the archives and the *Craik Weekly News*, the local newspaper, provided another means for identification of many persons in the Craik community (Craik Oral History Society, 2006; *Craik Weekly News*, 2006 - 2008). This study of local documents caused me to question why the number of individuals seriously involved with the CSLP was apparently quite low amongst the general town population. Furthermore, these findings lead me to theorize that there were signs of conflictive relationships and contradictions between the CSLP core leadership and the other townsfolk.

The CSLP website indicates that the four substantial aspects of the project's five year plan were: the construction of an Eco-Centre, education for environmental sustainability, retrofitting the town's existing buildings and developing an eco-village (Craik Sustainable Living Project, 2005). The Eco-Centre was completed in 2004, after an intense construction period, to a large extent due to mobilization and assistance of outside leadership from the PIHE. In 2007, the other two stated significant aspects of the CSLP, the eco-village and retrofitting of the town buildings, had not yet materialized.

Based on early field trips, it became apparent that there existed a deep divide in the community in regard to the project. The objective of this research was to provide an explanation for this divide. I needed a methodology that would permit me to determine to what degree the observed division was related to disagreement over the project's environmental goals and the economic interests of the community.

Both Schnaiberg and Melucci emphasize the importance of inclusiveness and education of all the people at all stages of social change (Melucci, 1996; Schnaiberg, 2000). Their theoretical insights, combined with the findings from the documentary analysis, suggest that adequate communication of the leadership with the townsfolk may be an important factor to be examined in the analysis of the development of the project at Craik. These preliminary findings allowed me to frame the main research question: **What are the social and cultural factors that inhibit the Craik project from meeting its stated environmental and economic goals?** The theoretical

framework presented in chapter two suggests that this question could be framed more specifically to say: **To what degree have the outside and community project leaders been able to recognize and unify their ecological and economic goals?**

This overall research question provides the framework for the initial interview questions while the secondary questions were derived from and directly related to the main research questions. They are: (1) to identify the main factors that have advanced success of the project? (2) To identify the factors that have created barriers to the project's completion? (3) To learn the degree to which the leaders of the project have been able to include members of the local community in the eco-project?

These questions directly stem from Schnaiberg's theory that points out crucial components for effecting social change. These include: leaders empowering communities to make their own decisions; communities being engaged in rational decision making; and providing the necessary education for community residents (Schnaiberg, 2000, 198). Correspondingly, the interview questions reflected and are the result of these core components. This would allow the contradictions and tensions underlying the separation between leaders and the local people at Craik to be more clearly understood.

The next phase of the research involved the design and execution of in-depth interviews aimed at gaining a better understanding of the relevant factors that contribute to the contradictions that appear to be problematic in the development of the Craik eco-project.

3.3.2 Phase two: In-depth interviews

3.3.2.1. Key informants and selection of respondents

Once I had attended meetings, established relations with committee members and completed the documentary review, the next step was to choose key informants. I chose two individuals who had the most extensive experience with both the project and the townspeople. They were also very supportive of my research and generously provided me with relevant documents and verbal information. Later, I chose a third individual because he/she provided a different kind of experience due to his/her age; he/she was

older and had different views of the project since he/she did not represent, nor was he/she aligned with, the committee leading the project.

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the community, I used purposeful sampling to select a total of thirteen respondents. Purposeful sampling is a method of deliberately selecting participants who have rich and direct experience relevant to the research question (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Goldenberg, 1992). This form of selection provides the researcher with a sampling method that enables him/her to obtain a range of specific information that is both typical and divergent.

Lincoln and Guba (1995) state that, “seeking out multiple constructions of the world by multiple stakeholders has to be marked by serious, sustained searches for, and prolonged engagement with, those stakeholders and their constructions” (276). One aim in the research at Craik was to follow Lincoln and Guba’s advice that qualitative researchers “seek out the silenced, because the extent to which alternate voices are heard is criteria by which we can judge the openness, engagement, and problematic nature of the text” (Lincoln and Guba, 1995, 282). Therefore, individuals with extensive experience of the project as well as those who had very little involvement or those who were opposed to the project were selected. The selection, to a great extent, was influenced by early participants who assisted in identifying the other participants for me.

For this purposeful sampling stage of the research program, twelve interviews were conducted. The components of the sample were as follows: approximately half of the individuals interviewed represent the CSLP supporters and half of them represent the various and diverse positions present in the community. Special efforts were made to ensure an equal number of men and women within each group. These interviews provided the primary source of data, which is also supplemented by a daily field journal. The interviews were conducted between January and March of 2007.

3.3.2.2 Interview procedure

As with any community, the dynamics at Craik are complex and multifaceted. According to Holstein and Gubrium (1995), it is important for qualitative interviewers to make efforts to be sensitive to the context in which the interviewees were embedded so,

my being able to draw on the background knowledge gained in the field helped to heighten rapport with the informants. The primary source of data was drawn from the review of semi-structured interviews where the questions were structured in a way that allows the openness of a relaxed conversational style in which the respondent could diverge from the format if he/she thought something else was particularly important. Meanwhile, the structure helped the interviewer to retain the focus of the research. This means that, while the interviewer has freedom to be empathetic to the respondent, some restraints are present so that the interview remains within the topic of concern. There were a total of thirteen initial interviews and six secondary interviews. They were voice recorded and transcribed then returned to the respondents to ensure accuracy. Later in 2007 and again in 2008, I revisited to the field on a number of occasions to clarify material in the data.

Following Annette Lareau's advice (1996), I kept an ongoing field journal throughout the field work that recorded all relevant information, observations and thoughts. The journal also provided a means to retain self awareness and to reflect on my role as a researcher in the community, a practice which I found to be necessary in order to remain focused on the research objectives (Lareau, 1996). These journal notes were also an invaluable supplement to the interviews and informed the data analysis.

3.4 Data analysis

As indicated in the previous section, data collection refers not only to interview transcripts but also to personal and ongoing observational journal notes. According to Melucci, "the researcher-action relation is itself an object of observation, part of the field of action" (Melucci, 1996, 388). Since data collection and a preliminary analysis were done simultaneously, emerging data were largely inductive not deductive, which means that categories were not identified prior to the field work but were developed later from the data (Cresswell, 1998). In order to create the categories, qualitative data such as this are usually analyzed in a manner that involves "a process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data" (Mayan, 2001, 22). This entails a careful reading of the texts numerous times until one is very familiar with the content and then identifying themes.

This is consistent with Goldenberg's (1992) approach. According to Goldenberg (1992), when using a critical perspective, the researcher cross-references these themes and also relates them to the theoretical framework, to provide a sociological analysis related to the broader social concerns. This implies that the researcher needs to link respondent's perspectives within larger social systems in order to provide a more whole understanding of the situation as it relates to the larger context. In order to more deeply develop these patterns and clarify the data, the first set of interviews were followed by revisiting specific respondents for secondary interviews focusing on specific questions that arose from the initial set of responses.

After transcripts and field notes were reviewed rigorously and patterns were identified in the text, data were then arranged in categories that linked concepts with a similar theme related to the research questions. These categories were: farming crisis, the town in crisis, confluence of events, opportunity, outside leadership, inside leadership, conflict, the petition, financial concerns, education, environment, economy, sustainability, community pride and spirit, individual behavioural change and practical demonstration.

These categories were then grouped into general abstract themes related to the theoretical framework. These themes were: context, leadership, education, and economy. These categories are presented in sections, with each category including quotations from the respondents to illustrate their relevance.

From these categories emerged the overarching common theme which I will analyze in more detail in the chapters following. This overarching theme was the conflictive perspectives on the project of an individual behavioural focus versus a social structural focus. The final analysis identifies underlying meanings and relates sociological concepts to this overarching theme (Attride-Sterling, 2001; Goldenberg, 1992). This analysis provides some answers to the research questions.

The categories presented in the next chapters will provide a view of the context of the eco-project, the underlying conflict that resulted from its development and the significance of the issues evident in that conflict.

3.5 Limitations and ethical considerations

Margorie Muecke, (1994) states that the risk involved in focussed ethnography is that the focus itself could exclude relevant data. She counters this by saying that the study is generally more credible the more a researcher participates in the life space of the participants, since this provides a deeper awareness of the context of their local social and physical environments (204)¹⁰.

According to Lareau (1996), while extended contact poses a danger that the researcher may become overly identified with the subjects of their research, it also provides a thorough in-depth and more holistic understanding of the situation being examined. As a researcher, I undertook a prolonged period of engagement with the community which was necessary to provide an adequate understanding of, first, the context of the project and, second, the related concerns. I would argue that, although that closeness to the community can be viewed as a limitation, it is at the same time an integral and necessary asset for ethnographic research, as it provides a greater depth of understanding that assists in recognizing the local patterns, jargon, tactics and contradictions. I found that the extensive and consistent use of a field journal, which I employed to maintain a constant check on the direction of the field work, was essential for maintaining objectivity.

The chosen sampling method should not be considered to be representational because the aim was to choose key vocal respondents, individuals who could articulate particular knowledge about specific aspects of the community. Those excluded were members of the community who had not had as much involvement in the project or who had not voiced strong opposition to the project. This may mean that the voice of the status quo in the community was not represented but the participants were chosen specifically to provide me with a rich depiction of the project itself and the community's response to it.

¹⁰ The CSLP leadership supported my research wholeheartedly for which I am very grateful. It was my wish to return that generosity and so I committed to assist organize their first Solar Fair (2007). Since I was aware that this involvement could endanger my access to other respondents in the community, I requested that there be no public credit for this work. I reasoned that, while I could be criticized for biasing my research in this manner, as a critical researcher, my interest is to support advancement of sustainability issues. Furthermore, this involvement provided me a deeper understanding of the CSLP.

It quickly became apparent that since the project has received considerable attention from the media, the members of the CSLP were familiar with being interviewed. This may have provided skewed responses where the respondent was merely stating the expected rather than giving authentic answers to the interview questions. Once this dynamic was recognized, it was also taken into account and included in preparation for the secondary interviews and subsequent analysis. This concern was addressed in the field by posing alternate questions with a different focus in secondary interviews.

My research did encounter some unevenness in the data since it was found that almost all the respondents chosen were strongly in favour of the project. To compound the unevenness of the data, those individuals who were outspokenly against the CSLP refused consent to the use of their data, and so it could not be directly included. However, their concerns were incorporated in the analysis indirectly by including questions to other diverse respondents so as to understand the reasons for those grievances.

The study followed the ethical guidelines of the University of Saskatchewan Advisory Committee on Ethics and Behavioural Science Research Program. I was granted Ethics approval, prior to conducting my interviews, on January 22, 2007, (Appendix 1). It is impossible to provide complete anonymity in a small community of four hundred and three people, but data from the research were kept confidential as it was only available to the researcher and research supervisors. All subjects were assigned a number according to the order in which they were interviewed. Each respondent participated freely, had the rights explained to them prior to conducting the interviews, and they also had the opportunity to review the data before signing the transcript release forms. Data will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Social Research Unit for the required five years. The Ethics Consent form is attached in Appendix 1.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

3.6.1 Validity

In the case of ethnography, validity “refers to how successfully observations and descriptions depict the social reality being studied” (Stewart, in McLaughlin, 2007, 59).

Validity includes truthfulness or authenticity and generalizability. Authenticity is concerned that the account is a truthful and candid portrayal of the people being studied and aims to capture a detailed inside view of those being studied to understand how they feel about relevant events. To establish authenticity, a qualitative researcher needs to ensure that engagement with participants is prolonged, observation is persistent, and results are triangulated (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As a researcher, I was able to have the opportunity to engage in the field work over a two-year period which allowed me to observe and participate in a wide range of activities in the community. This addresses the criteria of prolonged engagement and persistent observation. Triangulation is “the use of multiple and different sources, methods and theories” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, 305). Triangulation was achieved through a variety of data collection methods that were employed including: field observation, document analysis, individual interviews, and a reflexive journal. Further validity criterion recommended by Lincoln and Guba, referred to as member checks, was accomplished by returning participants’ transcripts to solicit their feedback before completion of the study.

While the validity of this study is strong due to the degree of detailed descriptions, triangulation and member checks, the degree to which the findings can be generalized to other circumstances is not so strong (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This research was conducted in a specific community and situation. Therefore, some aspects can be generalized but it cannot be concluded that they will necessarily fit in other cases and it is questionable to what degree the results of this research can be generalized beyond the specifics of this study. Readers will need to make informed judgments regarding the transferability of these research findings to other situations and those judgments will depend on the specific factors present in each situation. The inclusion of detailed data from respondents and a thorough description of the historical context of this study will assist the formation of such judgments.

3.6.2 Reliability

Reliability refers to “the extent to which, on repeated measures, an indicator will yield similar readings” (Jackson, in McLaughlin, 2007, 59). In other words, it refers to the dependency and consistency of findings. This is achieved by applying a variety of

techniques to record consistently over time. Ethnographic studies are continually evolving studies of situations and relationships that are developing and in continuous flux and the researcher needs to also be aware that their own relationship to the subject also becomes a part of the situation being studied. Because of my extended data collection period, my relationships with the people in the community developed which allowed me time to successfully gather information that I would not have been able to get over a shorter period. Another indicator of reliability was the extent to which similar information was gathered from the number of people I interviewed. Again, the field journal provided me with a means to balance and assess my relationship with the data and my research focus.

3.7 Summary of methodological framework

This chapter introduced the epistemological and practical grounds behind the planning and execution of the fieldwork and the guidelines for the analysis that provide the basis of this thesis. The rationale for a qualitative methodology using a focused, critical ethnographic approach was explained. This included a description of the execution of the fieldwork at Craik between the fall of 2005 and the summer of 2007, the reasons for the selection of the thirteen respondents and the means of interpretation and analysis of the data. The next two chapters will provide a detailed presentation of the major themes based on data obtained in the field, and the facilitating and constraining factors for the project.

CHAPTER 4: FACTORS FACILITATING THE ECO-PROJECT

4.1 Introduction to the themes

The goal of the first phase of the fieldwork was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the historical context of the eco-project which in turn will provide a broad social and cultural framework for the subsequent analysis. The first set of themes in the data describes the context for the eco-project. This is followed by a set of themes that explain the facilitating factors for the project. The dissenting factors are presented next in chapter five, followed by a theoretical analysis of the dominant themes in chapter six. Chapters four, five and six together provide an integrated analysis and assessment of the CSLP.

4.2 Historical context

Initial interviews revealed an overwhelmingly strong sense of pride in the Craik community. Furthermore, since their town was in decline, community members expressed general agreement that they wanted a new initiative in order to continue as a viable prairie town. The sentiment was strongly and repeatedly expressed by all respondents. They were determined that their town would not experience the same demise experienced by so many other small Saskatchewan communities.

Concrete evidence of their community pride is that the town of Craik has taken the effort to preserve its legacy and boasts the only well catalogued historical archives in rural Saskatchewan. These archives provided me with a rich documentary source of the town and community history. The following detailed description of Craik, as a once thriving hub of activity, was given to me by a respondent who has extensive knowledge of the archives:

In a general sense the community has a very vibrant history and I think this really is a contributing factor maybe to the success of the project. ...I'm going to give you some examples, some neat things about the history of the community. Craik's a

very old prairie community. We're celebrating our Centennial this year. That's coming up at the beginning of August so its one hundred years. Well, you know that was the incorporation of the town, but the community existed long before that when the railway came through back in the late eighteen hundreds. The Qu'Appelle Long Lake Railroad and Steamship Company came through here connecting Regina to Prince Albert and so the community was developed a long time ago. The advantage, I guess, for the community is that it became a hub of activity related to the operation of the railway. For instance, it was the only place between Regina and Saskatoon where trains could stop for coal... It was the only place where engines could actually turn around and go the other way; a Y it was called. It's still there, the remnants of it.... So these are all the neat things about the early railway history of the community, which had a big impact upon the growth of the town. Now, a great train station – one of two of that design in the whole province... We had a water tower, we had a stockyards, and you know, all those things. So it's a very interesting past that way. It also was a hub because other communities that didn't have railway came to Craik and we had all kinds of these converging wagon trails, you know, from over Imperial and Liberty and all those places over on number two highway now that didn't have a railway. They came to Craik. So those all contributed to the early history of the community. ... We've had a great history in terms of sports. You know, a lot of professional athletes have come out of Craik. A history of leadership, you know there was an organization back in the seventies called the Palliser Wheat Growers Association that had its kind of genesis in the community. The Craik Agricultural Fair became almost a symbol of those early small town fairs, right – that was held every summer. ...Of course we've lost all of that. No fair anymore and it's really quite a shame but it would just seem to happen. You know people were not around in the summer. There were fewer people altogether. I don't know all the factors. (Interviewee # 1, February, 2007)

This sense of community pride and spirit became very evident and on almost every visit, a love of their community was a thread that ran through the interviews in Craik. During fieldwork, it was evident that this pride was a matter of strong agreement amongst the Craik people. This solidarity was expressed as a desire for the survival of the community and the people's willingness to fight to maintain its services. This solidarity was present despite other profound disagreements:

I think that the one thing I've noticed with Craik is that they all want the town to survive. They all really want to see this town stay for another hundred years. ...and that's remarkable, I mean it's great that they've come together and it's great that they've been able to fight for it. Like, in a lot of places, I think just gave up... They really fought hard for the school and health board to stay. ... They really fought for the Health Centre, and they fought for the Police Station and that is something that they all seem to come together and do. ...So that is something where the town has really come together. (Interviewee # 10, March 30, 2007)

This constant theme of retaining the town's services and to "save the town" was a thread that ran through every interview in Craik. Without exception, all the respondents exhibited an unwavering commitment to see Craik survive, which, in the current culture of agricultural decline in rural Saskatchewan was an incredible sign of community commitment, strength and determination. According to William Carroll (1997), "the mobilization of a group is primarily determined by the extent of pre-existing social organization"(9). The strong resolve amongst the Craik people to support their community provided the first and most essential criterion for social action. The next section examines another factor that the townspeople held in common, which was crisis.

4.2.1 The town crisis

The first chapter of this thesis offers an account of the rapid decline of rural Saskatchewan communities as described in the well-known reports by Jack Stabler, Rose Olfert and Murray Fulton (1992, 2002). Stabler documents the changes in Saskatchewan's trade centre system first between 1961 and 1990 and, in a later study, from 1990 to 2002 in the context of Central Place Theory¹¹ and provides an explanation for the consolidation process that has taken place in Saskatchewan communities. Craik's status in this report is a Minimum Convenience Centre (MCC), the lowest level out of six distinct categories, which are rated according to the trade functions of each community. Minimum Convenience Centres are considered to no longer perform a coherent role in the trade centre network (Stabler and Olfert, 2002).

The continuous exodus of population from rural areas reduces support for local business and geographic expansion of the labour market area results in fewer people working locally. Smaller communities declined and larger, centrally located communities have prospered. According to Stabler, once a community reaches the level of an MCC, there is an inevitable cycle of decline where the ongoing loss of population reduces support for local business which, in turn, decreases the community's economic base and places these communities at serious risk. Stabler states that, "only through an unlikely fortuitous

¹¹ Central place theory explains that the role of a central place is to act as a service centre for its hinterland. It is defined in terms of minimum population and income required to support specific activities (Stabler and Olfert, 1992; Stabler, Olfert and Fulton, 2002).

event will any of these communities regain a functional position in the trade-centre system” (Stabler, Olfert and Fulton, 1992, 46). It appears that the residents of the town and RM of Craik determined that they might be able to create such a ‘fortuitous event’ by building the Eco-Centre. A local government representative provides an explanation of the community’s struggle to survive and of the impact of Stabler’s reports from his perspective:

I might be a little bit of a redneck on this but there is a push in rural Saskatchewan for amalgamations. They come after the municipalities first. **We fought them real hard on it** and I think we succeeded, for a short period of time. ... We, in this municipality, collect and send into the school district well over one million dollars in education tax and we thought it was important to keep control over that locally. It only costs eight hundred thousand dollars to run the Craik school and yet we collect way over that. ... And of course, if they can get our tax dollars into the Regina or Moose Jaw, the larger centres, then we won’t see them come back. They close the schools and if rural Saskatchewan keeps declining the way it is we’re not going to have too many people in the rural areas. I think we’re down to eighteen percent of the population now in the RMs. And if we don’t have schools, what’s the sense of a post office, and the hospital? We don’t have a hospital now. It’s a wellness centre and the doctor. We’re an hour and a half from the city so it’s very important to have a doctor. I don’t think it’s fair to expect old people to go to Moose Jaw. We lost the acute care system but we still have our lab although they did vote to close it but **we fought like crazy to keep it. ...**

This is important too. I mentioned the Stabler report. The provincial government believed that there would be nobody living in Craik in ten years. **They read the Stabler report and so they had eleven communities they thought they could save. We all blamed him for saying that, but he was right that trend was there.** So, the pencil pushers in Regina said, “If there are no people in Craik, where will we get the education money” The land is always there, so there was a big shift to take the property assessment out of the small town and onto agricultural land. Cause they still had to have a million dollars come out of this area. So they changed the way they did the assessment, radically. This quarter was at one time five thousand. It is now fifty-five thousand. So, that’s how they changed assessment from urban to rural. So that’s how the assessment went up thirteen times in ten years and the city of Regina went up only five. (Interviewee # 13, April 29, 2007) [my emphasis]

As stated by the respondent above, at Craik, the local economy was at a severe disadvantage due to recent actions on behalf of the state. The statement above also indicates the stress that local leaders were facing in their efforts to retain some services for the community despite these challenges and the level of commitment to the action that these people were prepared to take. Barry Adam states that “the constituencies of the

new social movements have always been deeply engaged with and shaped by the actions of states and capital” (Adam, in Carroll, 1997, 46). Frequent statements such as the following by a local businessperson, echo the sentiments of the prior respondent and constitute good indicators of the fear and desperation that existed in the Craik community. The comments from the next person state the significance of the eco-project opportunity in this context of rural depopulation and the domino effects on local services and institutions:

Right, we were dead. Like man, you can deny it if you want but the town of Craik was dead in the water unless we did something drastic, big, fast. I’m convinced that, by now, we wouldn’t have a Health Centre anymore if we wouldn’t have done that and if we didn’t have a Health Centre, we wouldn’t have a pharmacy. **If we didn’t have a Health Centre and pharmacy, we wouldn’t have a doctor. We lose all those people, we probably wouldn’t have a kindergarten to twelve school.** We are right on the edge, you know. Like if we lost fifteen people, we lose everything. So, what good is, you know, three hundred thousand dollars in the bank, if you got nothing, you got nothing but a gas station and two hundred fifty people. ... You’re going down, inevitable. (Interviewee # 5 , February 16, 2007) [my emphasis]

Furthermore, other pessimistic statements expressed the fear that the once booming town of Craik, could now be following the same fate of the neighbouring communities:

Yeah, and I think too Aylesbury and Girvin have kind of been a scare to them on how quickly they’ve gone down and even Davidson, lost, I think, almost five hundred over the last three or four years....And I think that, again, really frightened the community. You could wake up one day and your community is not here. (Interviewee #10, March 30, 2007)

This fear is echoed in the statement below:

You can go to the two towns north and south of here to see that Girvin and Aylesbury. They were the same size as Craik at one time. Aylesbury had seven elevators Craik only had five. I don’t know what happened. It’s the times. All these towns. I wouldn’t be surprised if there were seven hundred people in the RM of Craik at one time and now we’re down to about three hundred. There was a homestead pretty near on every quarter. And there was a need for a store every ten miles; you couldn’t go farther with a horse and buggy in one day. We’re down to a hundred farms in the RM. (Interviewee # 13, April 29)

From these narratives, we can sense how critical a situation the residents of Craik faced. The next section provides a view of the social and economic context of the farming community, which is at the heart of local social change, from the respondents' point of view. This is followed by a section where the other contributing factors are considered.

4.2.2 Farming crisis:

The effect of the community's declining economy can be assessed by checking the local weekly newspaper or a brief stop at the town garage, where postings for the local auctions can number as many as a half-dozen in a month (see Appendix 8). This is a poignant indication of the devastation being faced by farmers. While the auctions indicate the rapid exodus of the local farming population and of the cost-price squeeze, the dilemma faced by those remaining is powerfully expressed in statements such as the following:

In the RM of Craik we're having quite a struggle with agriculture. Agriculture can't sustain a community anymore, not enough of us. We've probably gone from a population of seven to eight hundred down to, basically, we have one hundred farms in the RM of Craik that we can look after. The chemical bills, the fuels, the freight is tremendous. ...If rural Saskatchewan keeps declining the way it is, we're not going to have too many people in the rural. I think we're down to eighteen percent of the population now in the RMs and if we don't have schools, what's the sense of a post office, and the hospital. (Interviewee # 13, April 29)

The respondent alludes to fuel and freight costs as one of the main burdens to the farming economy. This has been worsened by the fact that farmers are encouraged to expand their land base. This respondent further explains the profound degree of pressure that is placed on the local farmers:

I'm going to be conservative here but I bet there are fifteen percent of our one hundred farmers who didn't pay last years bill and they're in there begging. They're caught in a rut on this continuous cropping and the elevator agents don't understand. ... Some of them are four or five years behind on their bills but they'll hang in there. I can't see it getting any better. (Interviewee # 13, April 29)

Many farmers attempt to "hang in there" by themselves or with a family member, working off the farm. The next respondent explains that he has been forced to run a business in town to supplement his farm income:

That wasn't by choice. It's just because the agriculture is in trouble. You have to learn to eat air because there are very few farmers left. When I came to Craik there was about twelve hundred people living in the municipality and now we lie and say there's about two to three hundred in the municipality. That's not true because a portion of those are summertime residents that come out from the city and maybe farm and maybe they stay in the farmhouse for maybe two weeks in the spring and two weeks in the fall. In that estimation it has been devastating for agriculture in the last thirty some odd years and nobody will take responsibility for it but, I would say it's a tragedy, a tragedy for Canada. It used to be that the prairie provinces were called the breadbasket and they don't even want to list agriculture as an asset anymore. And guess what, try and eat a computer chip but people spend way more on their computers than they do on food. (Interviewee # 6, February 16, 2007)

He further suggests that, because of the chronic farm crisis, most farmers are being forced completely off the land to pursue other employment:

It's been a very tough thirty years. People lived through the thirties and they talk about the struggle then but that was only really for ten years of the thirties and only devastating for a couple of them. We've lived with the same situation for twenty years or more. ... I would say that every small community in Saskatchewan is dying. Farms close every day. Towns have disappeared etc. Now, when you have a province turning into the outback of Australia, it's devastation. Now, you listen to what the premier, [Calvert] says: We had four thousand move into Saskatoon. Yeh, but look at what's going on. How many have moved out of the province? ... Just in this community, I can name you a dozen to fifteen young guys that are gone from here and they're working out on the oil patch. And there are lots of guys who are farmers who can't wait till the crop's off so they can get back out there [making money in the oil patch]. One fella here couldn't even finish harvest. He had to come and get his father who's seventy eight years old to come and finish harvest for him because he has to go back to the patch. You know eventually, guys, it may be cool and groovy to live off the land but we're being financially stressed. And the problem is with being financially stressed, you have to deal with someone who can't see anything else and he's called the bank manager. You know all he looks at: "Oh by the way, you're overdrawn." Like, tell me something I didn't know. I'm just barely able to make a living with a business and a farm here in Craik. I'm [...] years old and getting to a point where how many times can I try something else. When you get older you just get tired. I don't want to go and do something else. I hope I can hang on/ enough/ more years/ but you notice the term hanging on. It's whether you can bash that fine line between loss and profit. (Interviewee # 6, February 16, 2007)

A previous respondent has already mentioned the economic crisis faced by farmers and referred to the fuel costs as one of the primary expenses and the energy intensive nature associated with farming today. When asked directly if fuel was one of the largest costs for farmers, this was the reply:

Yes, the fuel and the chemicals and it's going to be bad on paper but it don't matter. ... I can give you examples where a farmer had to go to. .. He's losing money aye, to the bank and to get an operating loan to get fuel and seed and the banker would say. "You didn't make enough last year. If you had more land we might be able to do something or sign a quarter over for security, one or the other." So then, what happened to all of Saskatchewan was they would go out and with no reasoning try and increase their land size and pay cash rent and the next year they're farther behind and it's just a never-ending struggle. So, we have to do something different, because it's not working. It's bad that we're losing so many farmers. The farms are getting bigger, and bigger, and the population is getting smaller, smaller, smaller. .. So, of the fuel and the chemicals and the freight, those are the three big ones, we have to do something different. (Interviewee # 13, April 29, 2007)

This last statement indicates an awareness of a need to "do something different." The community leaders wholeheartedly decided what that "something different" might be.

4.2.3 The community agreement for action

As indicated previously, there was a general agreement amongst the people that they needed to revitalize their local economy. The first idea was a golf course and it appears that that project was supported unanimously:

The golf course. We had a good community meeting when we decided we were gonna do that. It turned out very well. We have a beautiful course now. And I gotta give a lot of credit to the community. It was all donated time, money, and equipment. It was all voluntarily done. We built it with a hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar debt. And we're quite proud that it's only that much and it will be paid off. That was really the first step. We've got the course now (Interviewee # 13, April 29).

While a good initial step the golf course is not sufficient to keep Craik on the map and offset the push from the grain fields and the pull of the oil fields.

4.2.4 Summary of the historical context

The analysis of the above statements shows the historical and economic context of the eco-project and indicates the local patterns of mobilization found in the community. The town of Craik, once a thriving hub for the agricultural area, was experiencing the same rapid decline as most other prairie communities. Respondents in the Craik community exhibited a strong sense of pride in their community history, manifest in a

sense of identity and cohesion. However, the people also expressed that they were in very difficult economic times and feared for their community's future. The desperation expressed regarding the economic context of the farming community exemplifies Touraine's statement that "contemporary society that structurally limits individual capacity for action is the impetus for social action for change" (Touraine, (1985, 756), In other words, because some actors in the community express reduced security, they are motivated to act. Related to that, the degree of solidarity and agency expressed by respondents indicates that Craik is a community with a capacity to act when needed.

Concerned about the town's rapid decline, the town leaders, consisting of Town and RM of Craik administrators, were actively seeking another project, in addition to the golf course, with the hope that they might revitalize their local economy and rescue their town. Despite the critical economic situation that exists for agriculture in the area, the people displayed a strong determination and were adamant that they were not going to let their town die. They had taken actions before to fight for town services such as the medical centre, the school and then, to develop the golf course. Their readiness to take initiative again to address their present situation is probably the strongest element of the historical context that contributed toward the development of the project and constitutes, according to Melucci, the discursive practices that lead people "to rethink what we mean by community, or power, or reason, or passion, or consciousness, or energy, or security, or development or democracy" (Magnusson and Walker in Carroll, 1997, 17) The following section examines the other factors that contributed directly to the initiation of the eco-project.

4.3 Facilitating factors

4.3.1 Introduction

From the beginning it can be seen that there were two differing sets of goals and interests: one, economic and one, ecological. The Craik residents were seeking a catalyst for economic development. All the local people at Craik, including local government and other residents of the town and rural municipality of Craik, were concerned that their community be economically sustainable. Some of the local community leaders were

inspired by the vision of an environmentally, sustainable community presented by an outside leader from the PIHE. He/she, had an extensive background and experience in ecology. He/she presented a plan and also provided a contractor and crew who shared a similar consciousness. The outside leader states his vision below to develop a community that would showcase environmentally sustainable lifestyles in Saskatchewan:

We [at the Prairie Institute for Human Ecology] felt that what we really needed was a physical demonstration of sustainability in rural Saskatchewan. And so we started approaching communities to know whether or not we could get a chunk of land, whether we could put up an alternative building that was off the grid, had a composting toilet or greenhouse in the back, you know, whatever. ... For me, it wasn't so much a matter of trying to save the Craik community or give them a focus, it was a matter of getting a community, any community, up and running, doing something different that people could then come in and see. (Interviewee #2, February 13, 2007)

As stated above, the outside leader's (PIHE) goal was simply to establish an environmentally sustainable demonstration model. The local leaders (Town and RM administrators) made no claim to being environmentalists and always maintained that their concern was principally the economic sustainability of the town. Their goal was clearly stated as 'to save the town'. According to one of the town administrators, the eco-project came about as follows:

Of course none of us knew anything about an eco village or how they worked or anything but we thought, there's a whole lot of promise here ... So we tossed this idea of an eco village around for quite awhile and said you know you can't just have an eco village. I mean why the world or anybody come to Craik to live here just because you said you were gonna give them a piece a land so we thought why don't we build a demonstration building first. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007)

The different perspectives of the two sets of people are very apparent in the statements above and illustrate the clear division of two different views and interests. The outside leaders were promoting sustainable lifestyle practices and ideals. The local leaders viewed the eco-project as an opportunity to develop an eco-business that might provide a practical means to encourage newcomers to move to their community.

The next section will examine the contributing factors for the eco-project.

4.3.2 Crisis, location and timing

As discussed above, the overarching theme in the community of Craik was one of desperation. This desperation is considered the main factor that led to the commencement of the eco-centre. Desperation is accompanied by a deep sense of crisis and the need to do something different to overcome it.

The following statements by a number of individuals indicate in different ways the general consensus that emerged about their situation and the need to address it:

Crisis was one of the causes. Between the reeve and the mayor, I think they are fellows that can see into the future and they realized right away that it's the eleventh hour. (Interviewee # 6, February 16, 2007)

Another interviewee echoes the first one:

Like I, I think we were heading for a crash and we have to change the way we're thinking and the way we're doing things. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

Still, another respondent states:

A small town stagnates if it does nothing and small towns in rural Saskatchewan are doing nothing but going downhill. Now, there was a group of individuals on the council and I believe some outsiders. I'm not totally sure of what they were thinking, you know, they had to do something. One of them was aware of, I'm not certain on his name and brought that up through this Midlakes Coalition. It was through that kind of a thing and it was the council that took the initiative and started this. That's my understanding, something along those lines. (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2007)

This next person states a very specific concern regarding the effect of the declining population:

Well, we were very concerned to get more people because the school could be closed. ...It would be the children in the school but if.., people will move away too. Parents with small children won't bus their children. (Interviewee # 9, March 30, 2007)

These statements emphasize the perception of the local people that they were in crisis. They were hopeful that the project could revitalize and attract new families to the community. Melucci (1985) observes that economic crisis and social disintegration are likely to be underlying motivators behind social actions.

The location of Craik also played an important role as both a disadvantageous factor contributing to the deepening of the crisis, and an advantageous factor in terms of the unique location for the eco-centre project. A local leader talks about the relevance of the location:

O.K. Well, I think there was a sense that the future of the community was in crisis and retail was seen to not be the future of the community. And being where we are, on a highway, as I described earlier and close to the cities, big retail dollars generated in the community are spent in those communities. That is to say outside our own community. So retail is tough currently. So, I think there was a sense of that. ... (Interviewee# 1, February 9, 2007)

The local leader expresses the view that the location on a highway was advantageous to attract revenues to the community. An outside leader provides his perspective regarding the location factor below:

Well, I mean they're a unique community, right, located half-way between Saskatoon and Regina to have a place that could serve good meals and have meeting rooms that was a pleasant place to meet in that's just a given. (Interviewee #2, February, 13, 2007)

The unique location of the town was a positive factor that also furthered the acceptance of the town leaders to initiate the eco-project. The perception of the benefits of developing a project at that location was there by both the inside and outside leaders. It can be seen that there were two perspectives as to the value of the location. For local leaders, the purpose was to provide economic development for an eco tourism site. For the outside leaders, it was seen as having qualities that benefit the sustainability project itself.

The time factor was also important. The timing, coupled with desperation, was crucial to the acceptance of the eco-project idea. A community resident states below that, if the idea had been presented to them at another time, it is questionable whether the project would have been accepted:

You know, this just sorta happened. I don't know, like, if he'd come two months later or two months earlier, I don't know if it would have happened. It just really was a, I think a unique set of circumstances and everybody seemed to be in the right frame of mind or I don't know. I really don't know how it really ever got going that still boggles me. **I would have loved to be in those meetings to see how that how they came up with that decision.** ... it was just a fluke of timing and people and just everything – Karma, I don't know, I don't know ... And I'm not saying that this is gonna make the town of Craik survive but at least it was a plan and I'm kinda pretty happy with the old council. They recognized that and decided they

had to do something, something had to be done **and it couldn't be studied or waited or you know**, it had to be done and that just happened to be when [he/the ecologist] 'tumbled in', you know, so the timing was pretty good. **He came in with a plan** and they were looking for probably anything and that sounded like a pretty good plan and so it started off as a completely economical 'save our town' sorta project and it turned it into this environmental, which is good, I mean. It's sure evolved differently than what I think the council that decided to do it thought it would. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007) [my emphasis]

This person's comment that the ecologist "tumbled in" indicates the frequently heard perception that the project came from someone from the outside. He describes his community's acute sense of crisis, saying that they were in a rush to start the project and it could not be studied or waited for. They had to move ahead and act. As stated before, the townspeople are active. The community members have fought the provincial government and amalgamation before so there is potential for action.

The ecologist who developed and presented the idea to the town had failed to convince four other communities before Craik. When asked why he thought Craik would accepted his vision while others rejected it, he too attributed the significant combination of crisis and timing:

Maybe you catch some people at the right time, you don't catch other people. I mean, [they] could see the writing on the wall, I mean, they were gonna lose their hospital, they were gonna lose their school, you know if something didn't happen you know, ...So I'm not sure, I think for most people in North America, they have to be confronted with a serious problem before they take action. If they don't have the serious problem, they don't wanna hear about it, right? They'd rather watch television than deal with it if it's not affecting them directly. Soon as it affects them directly, I think you've got their attention, then how you get them on a different track, you know I'm not sure rather than just having them go into a state of despair. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007)

It seems that the outside leader recognized that the perception of crisis in this community was a key to their openness to the project. Melucci says that a leader who recognizes the time and place to act is one who can move the people to action (Melucci, 1996).

4.4 Finances

From the onset, it becomes apparent that two different views and interests are present. On the one hand, the townspeople did not express an intense concern for the sustainability of the environment, but the community's declining economy was foremost

on their minds. Fortunately, several fortuitous circumstances provided the necessary financial basis for the project.

4.4.1 The Reserves

The people of Craik were determined not to let their town be one of those with no future. Unlike many other dying communities, they resisted the push for amalgamation at every stage. The desire to resist was a key factor in the instigation of the project. This desire is apparent in the following excerpt, where one of the town leaders explains how they refused to give up their reserve taxes. I include an extensive quote below because it provides a summary of events essential for understanding part of the context of the eco-project and the use of reserve funds. Although the following statement is lengthy, it is included in full because it explains a pivotal decision made by the town and RM leaders. Reading his/her explanation the reader feels that they are ‘in the room’ with this individual. One senses his/her frustration, how passionate he/she is about the issues and how intensely he/she feels about taking action to address them. Therefore, I chose to include the respondent’s full quotation in his/her own voice, describing the circumstances that tipped the balance and sealed the local leaders’ decision to go ahead and spend the tax reserves:

We have two hundred and ninety-nine rural RMs and about three hundred urban municipalities. Those six hundred would be put into eleven. That would mean the towns and the cities would be all one and so there would be no split between urban and rural you see. So the RM of Craik would go into a huge area centred in Moose Jaw. Yes, all the way to the border. ‘Montana North’ is our nickname and Craik would be the north end of it. ...So what that would mean is that the taxes collected in the present RM of Craik for use in the RM of Craik would go to an office in Moose Jaw, to a centralized office and they would have the power to decide how it is distributed, **rather than us being able to decide ourselves** here how we want to use it. ... We’re the type of people, we knew immediately that this wasn’t gonna work. Cause there wouldn’t be any services supplied to the RM of Craik, or the town of Craik. Our graders, for example, were in Moose Jaw. And I always like to use the example of in the spring a road washing out; we have problems with beavers will plug a culvert up. And so, the poor old farmer has to phone Moose Jaw and say, “I have a culvert plugged.” Well, he’s not gonna get it unplugged. He’s gonna have to do it himself. Not only pay his taxes but now losing out on services for the roads and everything else. ...**We recognized immediately that amalgamation would not work.** They said it would save money and we recognized that it wouldn’t ‘cause they have to send a crew up from Moose Jaw where we can send one guy out to grade our roads. **So we recognized**

immediately it was to get our tax dollars into the larger centres so, we fought it really hard. ...

The Joe Garcia report was out and they had to have public meetings around so he had to try and defend his paper on eleven municipalities so he was recommending these big larger areas. So, **anyway we fought it pretty hard** and at our SARM (Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities) conventions all the ministers have to line up on the podium. The only time we really get to meet the Ministers or the Premier and he's sitting there too. ... The mayor and I, **we went together**, to Outlook where they had a meeting. It was the Joe Garcia report and I think he works for the university. It all stems back to the Stabler report. Well, the provincial government took that wrong. They gave up when they read that book so we all in rural Saskatchewan hate Stapler. The provincial government said, why bother? Let's see if we can save twelve areas instead of saving the three hundred. So, that's why they wanted to the amalgamate thing. They thought it would be cheaper. ... So Garcia was over there to put on a public meeting about amalgamations and he said what a good thing it would be. And [we] went over there **and we had to stand shoulder to shoulder to explain our side of it**. And the provincial government **gave up**. They read that book and said here is the future. They gave up and that 's when this map came out for 'Montana North' and **the mayor and I stand there** and this guy pointed the finger and said you are to fault there's no development in rural Saskatchewan and so we came back home and we said: **We're gonna spend our money before they get it**. And that's basically it. So this thing with the Eco-Centre, it fit right in. He just happened along at the right time

And so I was just giving a little bit of background ... history, the excuse they used as the reason to amalgamate the municipalities and towns like we'd all be the same one is they blamed the small councils for no economic development in rural Saskatchewan. If it was amalgamated, they said, everything would flourish. Well, we're paranoid; it would flourish in the larger centres, not here. It would take our dollars to keep the larger centres going. ... When they point the finger at us saying we're the fault there's no development in rural Saskatchewan. ... **Basically they called us backwards. We were dumb farmers. So I thought, we'll go at them; we'll prove them wrong** (Interviewee #13, April 28, 2008) [my emphasis].

The **people's attitude** in the genesis of the project was strongly indicated by the quotation above. They were not passive; instead, the people had a very positive attitude regarding their own ability to take charge and do what was needed. They had fought the government and amalgamation and so there was strong potential for action. Again, the core value of the community is illustrated in the bolded statements above, which emphasize that they were prepared to take **collective** action and stand together in **solidarity** to ensure that they were able to act in the best interests of the **community**. The respondent continues by further elaborating the reasons for investing in the golf course and Eco-Centre:

... When the Davidson school unit amalgamated, they sent a million dollars to Moose Jaw of reserve money so if the municipalities are being forced to

amalgamate, the town and RM council said there is no sense to have reserves. The RM built the golf course; **the town took the initiative** and built the Eco-Centre. They could see they'd lose the reserves. ... We were gonna build this community; they told us these town councils are holding Saskatchewan back. It's our fault there's no development in rural Saskatchewan. ... When a small town or municipality has reserves for a water break or whatever – so when an amalgamation occurs that reserve goes to Moose Jaw. **So, why should the town of Craik sit there** with three hundred thousand dollars in reserves and watch the town die and watch the town get amalgamated?... And, it's a lot clearer for the people on council to understand that than the individual people on the street. So, why should any municipality struggle and build up these reserves for a rainy day and the cities take them? And the town took this step that if we've got these reserves, **we're gonna do something for this community** before it happens. ... We're gonna have something here to spend this money on. ... In essence really, say two years ago, when they built the Eco-Centre they had a loan at the bank. So, had they forced Craik to amalgamate, Moose Jaw would have had to pay off that debt but at least they had an Eco-Centre. ... Now the golf course and the Eco-Centre have to stay here. (Interviewee #13, April 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

The speaker above shows a clear analysis and good assessment of the situation. Not only did the leaders decide on action to retain their reserve tax money, they also ensured that, in the event of an amalgamation, the town and RM of Craik would not be not be in debt over the Eco-Centre. The above quote also relates that most local townspeople did not understand about the reserve taxes and the reason behind spending the money on an Eco-Centre. This explains, to a large degree, why there was dissention in the town over the project, as most local people did not share an understanding of the larger political agenda and its significance. The people did not know the extent of the political pressure and likelihood that the RM of Craik would be amalgamated with Moose Jaw. Furthermore, in that event, the reserve taxes would no longer be available to them but would be allocated to the larger centre. The local leaders such as the one quoted above, were adamant that the reserves be invested at home and into a project that could benefit the local community. Melucci suggests that leaders who take initiative and look ahead are needed for any action to be successful (Melucci, 1997). The decision to invest the reserves into the eco-project provided the right conditions from a financial point of view.

4.4.2 Green Municipal Fund (FCM)

The next financial advantage was obtaining federal municipal funding. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) provides what is called the “green municipal fund.” Without that initial seed funding it is questionable, even with the other advantages, whether the local leaders would have had the courage to advance the project. A key local leader explains the process of obtaining the funds and how critical financial decisions were made in regard to the initiation of the project:

So we started looking around for support and **we found the green** through the Federation Canadian Municipalities. The Green Funds, and I did up an application with the support of the RM ...Sent it in and they accepted it. They gave us a hundred-thousand-dollar grant and they would give us a low-interest loan of up to, I think it was, twenty-five percent of the capital cost of the project so we got a hundred and forty six thousand dollars low-interest loan and that was, uhmm, I think it came in at ... It was set at half a percent or one percent or something below prime. So, now we've got some money, not a bunch, and we thought, well so the town, then somebody had to say, well, we're gonna we're gonna be the agency and the application went in with the town and course then it gets a little scary because this you know half-a-million dollar building and you've only got, you got some funding and ... (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2008) [my emphasis]

These comments illustrate the incredible challenge that the town people undertook and the degree of spirit that they had. The next section examines the significance of this community spirit to the eco-project. This account also raises the question: What has Craik done differently that has kept the town alive compared to other neighbouring communities in the area?

4.5 Spirit

The examination of the data indicates that the general theme present throughout the community interviews is: saving the town. Interestingly, the other theme repeated in every interview was fear. Fear was expressed about losing the town, about the state of farming, about the sustainability of the eco-project and about social change itself. It could be said that fear was the primary instigator of the project, but it wasn't the only factor. The presence of a remarkably strong community spirit juxtaposed with the fear of losing the town provided the vital catalyst needed to initiate the project (Field notes, March 30, 2007).

The sense of an oppressive fear and despair was expressed almost without exception by the community members interviewed. At the same time, a second factor that became evident was an exceptional community spirit, vitality, and strength. The decision to spend the financial reserves is a good example of the positive community spirit that exists among the Craik community members. Despite the despair and desperation evident in the community, there is also a marked degree of spirit or agency which is evident in the statements below by one of the local leaders:

Anyway, he came to a Midlakes meeting and spoke to the group and well you know, he's pretty passionate and, you know: "I had this dream for thirty years to have a place in Saskatchewan where we could have an eco-village, a little sustainable community that could show the world that, you know, you don't have to live like the cities." And then we got the whole spiel from him and we thought you know what, that, that's probably a pretty good idea. So, he got together with us. ... He came down one day and met with us....and gave his spiel and we said "You know", we said, "We think that's something that would be good for the community." ... So, we got the councils together, and we kinda pitched this idea and you know both councils said, "You know, we think that's a good idea, why don't we, why don't we look at setting up an eco-village and making the land available?" The RM said, "We have this one-hundred-and-twenty acres, we might hand up." **Of course, none of us knew anything about an Eco-Village or how they worked** or anything but we thought, there's a whole lot of promise here. ... So we tossed this idea of an eco-village around for quite awhile and said you can't just have an eco-village. I mean, why the world or anybody come to Craik to live here just because you said you were gonna give them a piece a land? So we thought, why we don't build a demonstration building first? And the golf course was new, and we needed a club house, ... and so I guess the steering committee after a few months said, you know, I think what we need to do is really work at a demonstration building. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

It is evident from her statements and her frequent use of 'we' and 'us', that this respondent feels she is a part of the process. Furthermore, the interviewee points out that the positive attitude and agency is present not only in the leadership but also among many members of the general population of the local people and that agency has a long and proven history in the community:

And Craik has always been that kind of a town. I don't know how much history you know about Craik, but Craik was one of the first two municipalities in the province to have Medicare. Before Medicare ever hit the province, the town and the RM of Craik hired a doctor in 1924, I think, and provided medical care for all the people in this area. ... **And there's eighty-year-old citizens have never known, have never been without Medicare and that's because of the community and that, that's unique.** ... We got our new hospital and about six months later; this brand new facility, the government said you guys aren't a hospital anymore. Now you're a health centre. So the community was devastated.

So, they kind of moaned and whined and mourned for a few days and then they said: “O.K., **what’s the best thing we can do?**” They said, “The best thing we can do is, they’re gonna set up Health Boards and we need a strong representative on that board so that we’ve got some say.” and we did. You know, you sometimes you have to make lemonade outta the lemons and sometimes you don’t like what they do to you but and that was good for us. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

A local business person also expresses the philosophy of the community spirit in the following statement:

It was that core of people that together had that whatever you can’t put a finger on ...and, **and that’s what pulled it off. ...You know where there’s a will, there’s a way** and that’s what these people had. ... I think it’s personality, I think it’s like, true grit, ...and you see that in people and my feeling has always been a crisis or a tragedy or whatever it is, it’s a make-or-break situation. ...It’s that make-up of that person and in this particular case, the group that instigated it. That’s the part, .. I don’t think there’s a name for it. ...It’s, **It’s really for want of a better word I think you call it, ...true grit.** We’ll borrow from good old, wasn’t it, .. John Wayne? (Interviewee # 3, March 30, 2007)(my emphasis)

Another local businessperson spoke with pride of other initiatives taken by the community:

Well, maybe I’m wrong ‘cause I haven’t lived in other small towns, but to me it seems like it’s a very progressive community. We have a, you know, we have our new health centre, it’s not new now but it was, you know, fifteen years old or however old it is. We have our own cable system. We wanted a cable TV system and couldn’t get one so we just built our own, basically. We had internet; we couldn’t get internet in these small towns so a group just went together and made their own internet group. So we had Internet here years before anybody else in small towns had internet. We just, I think, we do more things like that than a lot of small towns and it’s usually council driven, fairly progressive councils, I think, is what really helps.

...And that’s the same with this project. It was council driven and it wouldn’t have gone without that. ...— and sometimes you have to lead even if nobody wants to follow. You have to do it and then in the end, it tends the work out pretty good, I think. ...So, hopefully, and that’s why I think, that’s why I like Craik because to me it seems like there’s,...**it’s not just a small town waiting to die off. It’s got enough innovation and people thinking ahead that they try to keep it going.** (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007) [my emphasis]

The ecologist from outside recognized the positive attitude of the community and that they had the kind of spirit needed for his plan to be taken seriously:

They have enough resources and can access enough things that they can find a way to solve their problems. And I think other people confronted with that just give up and I don’t know what the difference is with these people. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007) [my emphasis]

Excerpts from my interviews, cited above, illustrate the incredible challenge that the town people undertook and the degree of spirit that they had. In critical sociological terms, this spirit could be referred to as agency or praxis, and is one of the key factors needed, according to Melucci, for effective social change. All of the above statements refer to the strength of the local leadership at Craik as the critical factor involved in the development at Craik. New social movement literature states that, along with agency, leadership is possibly the most important component of any successful initiative for social change (Melucci, 1996; Scott, 1990; Schnaiberg, 1980). Most of the respondents recognized the role played by both the local leadership (town and RM administrators) and the leadership from outside the community (PIHE). It is perceived as a vital factor for the project.

4.6 Leadership

The leadership both from outside the community and locally was an integral factor in the development of the eco-project at Craik. Melucci states that leadership that takes initiative and look ahead is needed for any action to be successful (Melucci, 1996). In the analysis of the town's perception of the leaders, the distinction between local and outside leaders is crucial.

4.6.1 Local leadership

The town leadership took the initiative and decided that the decision to build an Eco-Centre was a worthwhile and necessary risk for the town. A local leader states:

So there were a couple of key people that got in touch with the ecologist for instance and he came down and kind of got the ball started. So that was a pivotal thing in my judgment. ...But my understanding is that he was interested in the concept of an eco-village and was looking for someplace that would buy into the concept and take it from there and actually work to develop something like that. **And that's what his pitch was**, I understand, with the Mayor and with the reeve and Midlakes and then with joint council meetings etc., so on. I guess if he hadn't come with the idea, it may never have gotten off the ground so, we always think of him as the father of the Craik Sustainable Living Project – that's how I phrase it to people. Ummm, **The councils bought in** and I think that was important as well – it wouldn't have happened had the two councils not worked together and had enough

support around the table to actually buy into the idea and decide to launch it so that was really important. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2007) [my emphasis]

This quote tells us that the outside leader was seen as having a different goal than the townspeople but they decided his idea could also meet their own needs and agreed to support it. This quote and others below affirm the position that the local leadership was focused on a project in hopes of saving the town whereas the outside leadership were the ones with the ecological vision. One of the respondents explains how a determined, committed group decided to push this idea to its completion:

To go ahead with the ecologist's vision was the most critical decision and most of the big decisions were done by him, 'cause, he had thought it through and kinda knew what he wanted and we kinda followed along with his decisions. The main decision I still can't believe they did it, was decided to go ahead with it without the funding. ...What was really interesting to me is and was at council, that was like two councils ago and they, started kinda getting cold feet, I think, and they started bickering and one quit and another one quit and things were, ... and then but it was election time so then we basically just got the right people on council and finished it 'cause they already spent, before the election, they had already the pad was poured, they already spent maybe a hundred-thousand dollars or so. ...and they were starting to kinda get cold feet about it now and I said "Geez, it's too late now." ...So we, and then in a small town, I'm not gonna rig the election but you make sure the right people, there wasn't even an election. There was, ...everybody was in mass agreement ...and not everybody was on for that reason but we kinda wanted to make sure we had a council that would do it. ... We got some decisions that we have to make here that aren't gonna be popular decisions but it's too late now to quit. We have to finish this through and carry it on. ... And we did we just kinda bowled it through really, which is easy to do in a small town if you have the right people on council. ... I mean that's not a very high way of doing things but it was too late. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

Yet another townsperson less involved with the project credits the town councils as the key initiators:

Now, there was a group of individuals on the council, I believe, some outsiders, I'm not totally sure of what they were thinking, you know, they had to do something. Ahh, one of them was aware of, I believe, this ecologist, I'm not certain on his, on his name and they brought that up and through this Midlakes Coalition. It was through that kind of a thing and it was the council that took the initiative and started this. That's my understanding, something along that line. (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2007)

A council member who was also a local project leader explained the determination that exists in the leadership of the community:

It's a new idea, it's kind of a crazy idea but you know with leadership and when we had a good council, they just said you know what if it's a leap of faith to spent that

kind a money but I've searched my soul and I think it's a good thing for this community and I'm willing to go I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna stay on this council till its done. If they want to throw me off after I don't care but I'm gonna stay on here knowing that what I'm doing is the right thing and that's the way most of those councillors felt. ... So, you know, and then the mayor stepped up and, you know, people that were legitimately interested and good people like leaders so, it just, I mean it wasn't always easy but, those councils were committed and, you know, the mayor is such a good speaker, I mean, he just said "I think its good for the community and twenty years down the road I'll either be right or wrong but you put me in here to do something and I think if I do nothing all we are doing here if we do nothing is depleting the reserves the town has set aside for what? And pretty soon then, we've got nothing and nothing to do anything with so why don't we make this last-ditch effort to keep this community alive? And if it works, good, and I think it will." And so they went for it. And I'm sure you've heard all kinds of versions of what has happened but basically that that was what happened. **They were a very determined council.** (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

Finally, a CSLP committee person explains again that the two councils of the town and RM were the leaders who chose the project and determined to see it through:

And another thing that helped initiate it was the leadership that we had at the time: the Mayor, the Reeve, and the two administrators of the local government. So pivotal people.... I mean, that was incredibly important.... So, I mean, that there were others involved but at that point my take those were the pivotal people at that point and had it not been for them, well, you know, who knows what would have happened? ... They became involved or as leaders because, well, it was part of their job really, the Mayor, the Reeve, I mean, they're leadership positions so almost by definition they became leaders, but they also had the good qualities that you need – an official title is not good enough. ... The expectation comes with the title but the biggest requirement is whether they've got the skills to do anything right. ... and in my judgment, they all do. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2007)

The above statements all bear witness that the two councils of local government were the initiators and leaders of the project. However, it seems that other community members were either not very interested or unaware of why it was happening. This lack of involvement at the beginning stages of the project may be a factor that led to the dissention that is evident in the Craik community.

4.6.2 Outside leadership

Contrary to the town and RM leaders, whose goal was to use the tax reserves and to save the town, the outside leadership was focussed on a global environmental solution.

The ecologist and visionary person behind the project provides his perspective on the background for the eco-project:

We called it the Prairie Institute for Human Ecology and our whole focus then was on what we called community-based learning and sharing of knowledge. ... And we worked primarily on alternative building, straw-build construction, alternative greenhouses, to a certain extent pastured, produced poultry and other livestock and just tried to get our foot in the door anywhere we could, where we thought things could happen. So we did a number of projects over the years and we felt that what we really needed was a physical demonstration of sustainability in rural Saskatchewan. And so we started approaching communities as to whether or not we could get a chunk of land, whether we could put up an alternative building that was off the grid, had a composting toilet or greenhouse in the back, etc. ... So, I mean that was the whole, for me, wasn't so, a matter of trying to save the Craik community or give them a focus. It was a matter of getting a community, any community, up and running, doing something different that people could then come in and see that this is working, and we could do it in our community. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007)

It is clear that this outside leader has a broader focus than saving one small community. He states "our whole focus" was on developing more sustainable living spaces, indicating that this is more than a project for him but a lifetime commitment that prioritizes the natural environment. Furthermore, he views the project as an ideal model to lead the way for other developments to follow.

While explaining the different focus between the townspeople and the outsiders, the ecologist describes the views of a key leader at Craik and his willingness to develop the skills and understanding to make the project a success:

He didn't know anything about environmental issues, the issue of sustainability and, you know, he's just educated himself over the last several years. (Interviewee #2, February 13, 2007)

When asked how these leaders from outside related with the community, it seemed that they were generally well accepted:

You know and then from, even during the construction, when we had them as the main part of the construction, the designer was a great leader too because he led by demonstration and he was a great mobilizer of human resources and he had all the budget and all that kind of stuff to do as well. Had we not had him, I don't know where it had gone either so I would lump him in as well as a leader certainly at that time. ... He brought the needed passion and the knowledge and all of that, so I would include him as well. ...

Well, I think so. Well, he was around a lot more than the others and he came out and was involved in our public meetings etc. and we had a day-long kind of retreat. He brought councillors together and key people just to get everybody on the same page

and he was very involved in that, well appreciated. But he was here every day for a year and lived, you know, here during the week and he brought some of the people he brought with him who were there throughout the project. They ended up curling and you know all of those things as well so ... so I would say there was a pretty good relationship between us and his crew, you know the guys he had with him for the duration of the construction. That's a pretty good relationship with the community, that's my feeling anyway. ...These were doers. That packs a punch. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2007)

Another community member gives additional credit to an outside leader and his crew and explains how the community, including himself, came to accept this building crew even though they seemed to be culturally very different at first:

The first time he came out, he looked like Sideshow Bob. He had this crazy red hair all over the place, he was wearing sandals you know and, you know, ah boy – what have we got here type a thing but they moved into town, they rented a house in town, they lived in town, they were models in the fashion show, they curled in the league, they became a real part a the community, so people with nothing to do with the project got to know them and they were such nice people that I mean you can't help but like them and that really helped the project. ...Yeah, that was really important. If we wouldn't got him and his group, I don't know if it would have ever actually gone 'cause I don't know another contractor in the world who woulda tackled that project with what we offered him. Not only financially, but just the plans and you know, the whole thing. He just ...Yeah, so, but that was a big challenge, was the cold. But he was pretty good at it. I don't know how he did it actually, but he did it. He pushed it and believed in it, got it through. (Interviewee #5, February 16, 2007)

These quotes show that the contractor and crew were able to mobilize the local people and assist in acquiring material resources for the build. They also provided the needed technical expertise and labour. In addition, it is clear from the statements above that the outside crew were able to adapt themselves to the community and its cultural norms. This is one of the key factors needed for effective leadership (Melucci, 1996).

On the other hand, the outsiders are seen in a less positive manner by other local people. An elderly citizen of Craik comments sceptically:

Well, I'm not sure how it started but I think that, somebody from Saskatoon dreamed up an idea ...and talked to one of the counsellors and got him enthusiastic about it and it just seemed to take off somehow. I expect at that time people were looking for things to do and the town looked like it wasn't in good shape so, some people that didn't, weren't really all that knowledgeable about it just picked it up and away they went. ...It's probably somebody from the University but I'm not sure about that. (Interviewee # 9, March 30)

4.7 Summary of the historical context and facilitating factors

It appears that the project was initiated as a result of a fortunate confluence of events. First, the town has a rich and vibrant history and local people are very proud of their community. The town's location on the most travelled highway between the two major cities in the province increased the tendency for the local citizens to do business elsewhere, deepening the local economic crisis. Conversely, this location was also a significantly favourable location for the eco-tourism project. However, the major motivation for the project was the local economic crisis itself and the concern for the viability of the town.

Faced with the general decline in rural Saskatchewan, local leaders realized that they needed to do something to draw attention to the town in order to raise its profile. Related to the crisis, the key issue was, that they were fearful that they could lose a significant amount of reserve taxes to Moose Jaw if they were amalgamated with the larger centre. Therefore, local leadership decided that in order to resist that, they would invest Craik's reserves in something that would benefit the community. The community had a strong degree of agency and had already taken measures to resist the amalgamation of some of their core services. The timing was crucial, and outside leadership arrived with their expertise and a plan for an eco-village at a moment in time when the leadership were looking for a means to invest the reserves.

In summary, the most important key factors supporting the project were the local historical context of pride and spirit of a "do it yourself" mentality, leadership including both those from inside the community and outside, excellent co-operation between the town and RM, and finally, once completed, the Eco-Centre itself as a tangible outcome that they could point to as a successful implementation. In other words, the initiation of the project was facilitated by the alignment of specific events including timing, crisis, location and opportunity. Despite these points in favour, a key source of tensions becomes apparent. The visionary environmentalist had the goal of creating a model of ecological sustainability to counter global warming, while the townspeople's goal was to achieve a measure of economic sustainability for their own local community.

Secondary interviews indicate that, even though the project has brought some benefits to the community, the fear of the town's demise still predominates the townspeople's concerns. The following is from an individual who voices the general fear for the town:

Well, the reason at the beginning to do something was to protect those things such as the school. And they're still, you know, they're still in jeopardy. I believe less so than they were five years ago. I believe that firmly (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2007)

To a certain extent, the project has met some of both the outside and inside leaders' goals: the CSLP has become a model for developing sustainable environmental practices and the ecologist's vision has, at least for now, helped to save the town. However, the community still encounters the problem of internal division. The next chapter will examine that division in detail.

CHAPTER 5: CONSTRAINING FACTORS FOR THE ECO-PROJECT

5.1 Introduction

Alberto Melucci proposes that the role of social movements is to present a new perspective. In his 1996 book, *Challenging codes*, he refers to movements as prophets rather than reactors:

Movements are a sign; they are not merely an outcome of the crisis, the last throes of a passing society. They signal a deep transformation in the logic and the processes that guide complex societies. (Melucci, 1996:1)

New social movement theory provides a framework to explain social and cultural issues related to the social change at Craik. Melucci emphasizes that collective action is a constructive process...and that a related key component of any successful social movement is that leaders need be aware of related social and cultural issues in order to effect change (Melucci, 1996). He provides an understanding of social movements as groups who construct a new social reality through a transformation of values and lifestyles. This definition permits the understanding of the CSLP as a social movement. Although the CSLP committee members certainly do not consider themselves as one, they exemplify a counter-hegemony as described by Melucci in his definition of new social movements. Framing the discussion of Craik in this manner provides an explanation for the divide at Craik where some individuals have accepted an alternate world view and others have not. As Melucci states:

Like the prophets, the movements 'speak before': they announce what is taking shape even before its direction and content has become clear...They announce the commencement of change; not, however, a change in the distant future but one that is already a presence. ...They speak a language that seems to be entirely their own, but they say something that transcends their particularity and speaks to us all. (Melucci, 1996:1)

Since they "speak before," the issues are not clear to the general populace and movements are often met with resistance. From the onset of this research there was

evidence of a degree of resistance to the eco-project in the Craik community. One of the objectives of this research was to determine the social and cultural factors related to this resistance in order to understand the non-support of the eco-project. This chapter will examine that resistance and identify those constraining factors.

The initial indicator of dissent was a petition circulated in the fall of 2005. The first sections of this chapter examine the points in that petition, provides analysis of the relevance of the points made in it and the response of the CSLP. Other sections in the chapter introduce the other constraining factors that are found in the data. These include a fear of social change, a clash of world views, and the burn out of key actors.

5.2 The Petition

Despite the previous general agreement that it was necessary to do something and the fact that the Eco-Centre had already been built, there is evidence that some people in the town still disagreed with the decision to build an Eco-Centre. This disagreement was manifest in a petition, circulated in the fall of 2005. The first sections in chapter five examine the key points in the petition and, through the comments of community members, assess the degree to which these points can be considered as constraining factors.

A division among the Craik people was identified from the onset of the research project. This division however, does not represent a clearly delineated split. The town division was expressed on the topic of the eco- project and was identified in a number of ways, such as anger, suspicion and misinformation. A manifestation of a dissenting faction of the townspeople may have been the petition that was circulated in November, 2005.

Since the petition seemed to be such a significant indicator of dissent, it was necessary to examine it thoroughly to understand what its claims were and if, in fact, they were reflective of a weak degree of support for the Craik project, or an ineffective leadership or something else. The petition was signed by ninety-seven people, which constitutes a substantial proportion of the town's population. This petition seemed to be a symptom of a large degree of non acceptance of the project.

It focussed on the finances which were stated as the primary cause and the dissent. The argument was that the project misused scarce financial resources that were needed for the town's infrastructure. Furthermore, the petition stated there was a lack of disclosure from local government regarding the eco-project which contributed to the opponents' suspicion and accusation that there was an irresponsible allocation of the town's finances.

This raises the question whether the role assigned to the finances is an element that needed further and serious analysis. The issue of finances being misused seemed to be a valid concern. The most urgent stated need was a new sewer and water system since the old system needed replacing. Although the concerns expressed in the petition were stated as a lack of disclosure from the local government, it appeared to be an expression of a deeper problem. Thus, the focus of the research began to identify the underlying concerns and deeper levels of disagreements of the dissenting people.

The goal of the research in this section will be to understand more clearly the underlying concerns of the dissenting people. In order to do that, the first sections of chapter five will examine the elements of the petition. The petition, presented by the dissenting group, was thought to indicate a considerable degree of resistance to the project so, this became a crucial issue to be investigated further and deeper. For these reasons, one of the central focuses of the research was unravelling the circumstances behind the petition, discerning how relevant they were and a discussion of the petition, its terms, and the dissenting group's credibility within the community is needed. This will be done through an analysis of the related issues. These issues are the identity of the non-supporters, misinformation, competition for resources and services and the longstanding town split.

5.2.1 The 'Naysayers'

Every cultural group develops expressions or terms that are unique to their own circumstance and Craik is no exception. The term 'naysayer' or 'nonbeliever' was used by almost everyone in the community to refer to the individuals who opposed the project

and who circulated the petition. Clearly the project's opponent's had gained a certain negative identity. The petition by the dissenting group was thought to indicate a considerable degree of resistance to the project, so this became a crucial issue to be investigated further and deeper. For these reasons, a central foci of the research was unravelling the circumstances behind the petition to discern how relevant they were, a discussion of the petition's terms and the dissenting group's credibility within the community. This is done through an analysis of related issues of the misinformation, competition for resources, and a longstanding town split.

5.2.2 Misinformation

The foremost claim put forward by the naysayers in the petition was that the finances were not disclosed and, or were misused. This section explains, through the quotations from respondents, the origins of specific misunderstandings related to the finances and provides several explanations of why the project committee members were accused of the misuse of funds. First, a local businessperson who had signed the petition explained how many signees they later discovered that the petition was misleading. On my inquiring as to why they signed the petition he/she explained:

And you had people like me that didn't even think about it. When he came in I went through his story and that sort a thing and I said well yeah everybody has a right to know to know what's going on. ... And when you're mislead for a better way to describe it, that way, of course you're going to sign. (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2007)

The second aspect of concern according to the naysayers was that the local government was not forthcoming about the finances of the project. The same business person explains how they proved that to be untrue:

And you know, like I said in there, and said publicly. Like, I signed it one day then read about the Solar Garden and it wasn't the two of them did not click in even together. It was just that, as a businessperson I thought, well O.K., we need to find out if it can make any money. So, I phoned the administrator at that time and said, you know, I need some financials. I need to see what this thing has been doing. You know I think she faxed off what I wanted within a short period of time. I mean I worked on it, crunched some numbers and then, like I say, it was the next morning I woke up and I thought, what the hell? It was clear as a bell but it's true. (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2007)

He/she further clarifies why others changed their position on the project, in the statements below:

I think I would credit the council people for, being the ones that had the foresight to realize this and I guess that's been my attitude and a putdown to the 'naysayers' on it. If you do nothing you're going to die. ... Maybe one of the one of the problems or whatever you would wanna designate it would be the fact that money is an issue but my understanding, anyway, is the councils have *done* a very short term on repayment. ... Yes, and possibly some people perceive that as hurting the town because the money isn't there but in a very short period of time we're going to have a centre that is fully paid for. ...

And a part of the issue that came up with this petition, I believe, was that the town also had substantial reserves. ... Now that was the thing that the naysayer said. Well, it should have been spent somewhere else. Where were they going to spend it because there were going to be no people down the road? ... What's happening in small communities is their all going down. We need to take a chance. (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

In the statements above, the informant credits the council for a shrewd and astute assessment of the town's situation, understanding the need to initiate a project, managing the finances in a timely way and for being completely open about the finances. It also explains that although the council did not take time initially to explain the finances, they did respond to the request for the information and later made every effort to have the financial statements readily available to everyone.¹² This person also emphasizes the importance of finances and rapid payments. Furthermore, this business person decided, as they state below, to reveal to the townspeople that they were misled by the petition and made a presentation of her analysis at the meeting. "I got a standing ovation for kyboshing their petition is basically what happened" (Interviewee # 8, March 30, 2008). This person provided me a copy of his/her presentation. His/her account places in doubt that the accountability about finances and a lack transparency were indeed the issue. The second stated concern, that the Eco-Centre was taking business away from other services in the town, will be examined next.

¹² The financing of the Eco-Centre was composed of a variety of different sources and terms. This complexity explains, to some degree, the confusion expressed in the petition. For a complete accounting see Appendix 6.

5.2.3 Competition for resources

It seems that there was a degree of confusion regarding the consequences of the project for the local people. A local government leader explains that timing was such that the town government was unable to put the decision to a vote. The RM, Town council and administrators were under pressure to act quickly if they were to have the opportunity. It appears that the ‘**naysayers**’ did not fully understand the situation regarding the threat of amalgamation which meant that the town reserves could be taken from them and not be available for their own use. The town government personnel, on the other hand, knew that, if they did not act quickly, decisions could be made that would mean the RM reserve money was no longer within their control. That constraint did not allow them time to fully inform the other local people about their reasoning, as is explained below by a person in the local government:

I guess the only thing is they should have gone and asked the ratepayers. I think it would have passed and then at least it was done. They’d had a vote and it was decided. ...So these people who are against this and there are less and less of them. And I have had discussions with some of them and they have to know that their house value has gone up ‘cause people want to move here now. As far as the RM goes we have no debt, it’s the town who has debt. We built the golf course and I think it’s a million dollar golf course. ... I’ll be the first one to tell you that if you’re in an elected position you’re gonna make enemies. You lose friends. You have to realize that the person who thought that, he has every legitimate right to say that, so as far as the council goes. But, you have to believe that what you’re doing is right. There is no sense having good water or pavement if there is no one living here. (Interviewee # 13, April 30, 2007)

He/she goes on to explain that naysayers mistakenly thought that their taxes would go up to pay for the Eco-Centre:

I’m not sure they really understood the concept of the idea. We nicknamed them the nonbelievers. But they are certainly entitled, if you have a house in town and you’re paying taxes, to ask, is this project, are my taxes going up? There was one individual who went round and stirred most of it up and I don’t think he understood the concept of reserves. Why have reserves if you’re going to lose them? Or, what happens if your house is worthless cause there is no school or doctor or whatever? So, anyway there were some **nonbelievers** and they were worried about if their taxes were going up, or were the council gonna bankrupt the town spending money on the Eco-Centre, or instead of the Eco-Centre they could have paved my street. I went to the meeting. They got enough names on the petition to be able to call a meeting and they were thinking the council was off the deep end or whatever. I think it was a good meeting. They didn’t say anything about spending the reserves before the government gets it. So, the ninety people who signed it, I don’t think they knew

exactly what they were signing and I think if you talked to some they said this and that...

So when anybody said anything to me about how it was wasting money or how much it's gonna cost me. Well, it doesn't cost anything when you take in the commercial part of it. But the town did take quite a lot of flak over it from people who don't completely understand. It hasn't been an easy road with those nonbelievers. ...The councils took a huge risk. ...The figures that it cost to build the building scared a lot of people I think. (Interviewee # 13, April 29, 2007) [my emphasis]

Below he/she explains further, that in actuality the centre is paying the debt back in a comparatively very short time. Even though the concern over taxes being used was shown to be unfounded, the naysayers' concern over money indicates that economics was the dominant concern for most townspeople:

I think the project was bigger than they thought it was going to be, but what project isn't? But in the end, it will be worth it if they can get through the next two years it'll be all down hill. But the municipal act handcuffed them it's pretty hard to borrow money over twenty years so they had a short term loan.

Two more years and it's paid for so that's a marvel in itself. ...

They had to go with a five year and they've had to scrimp and cut corners to make that payment.

But anyway going back to the town you gotta give the town a lot of credit for what they did – **you see the town of Craik wrote up in the National Geographic** (Interviewee # 13, 2008) [my emphasis]

Another local government person states more empathically that she understands and sympathises with the expressed concern about taxes. However, she also explains that the fear regarding raising taxes was also unfounded. In fact, the council, in order to respect the people's financial concerns, decided that the taxes would not be increased to help pay for the project:

They have a really fixed income and you know, you don't wanna be talking about a half a million dollar project because the first thing you think is my taxes go up \$100.00 and that doesn't fit my budget and in a lot a cases it doesn't.

So, you know there's that side of it and council did make a commitment. Council did make a commitment to themselves I guess when the project started. They said they would not raise taxes to cover the cost of the project and they didn't. They didn't even dare raise taxes to cover the cost of everything else. You know, and maybe you should have put a half a mil on for something. They said, you know what if we do that, it will be perceived, ... And we're only in council for two years. We're not gonna do that and they didn't (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2008).

As a result of their late recognition that there was a lot of misinformation in the petition, the CSLP committee then took responsibility to ensure the people were properly

informed. To counter the misinformation, the budget and all related financial information was printed in the local paper and then copies were made available for anyone who came to a public meeting on the petition:

So, you know and people come in and say my tax dollars and I'd say, "you know, your taxes haven't gone up. Council hasn't put any money on to pay for that building"...

[One of the principle opponents] says "you people have hidden all the facts" [the non-believer] says "you've never told us what buildings was gonna cost prior to, or after", and ...so the night of the public meeting, I had photocopied and had on the table for anyone to pick up, the full page ad that we bought with the plan.

Well, and that was fine, actually the town looked at the petition as an opportunity. Council said, "Look, I think we know we haven't done a really good job of getting the information out simply for a number of reasons. We haven't had the time and probably the effort when we're doing all this other stuff. But we look at it as a perfect opportunity to get the proper information out," which they did.

Uhhh, what we were gonna do, where we thought we could get the money, all a that I still have a copy and then I showed him, I had copies of the page that we printed in the paper. I think it was at least a half maybe a full page of what the building did cost after it was done and where the money came from. So, I said that that's just wrong. I mean how much more public can you get? But and we did, we had the copy sitting at the meeting that were published in the paper and so, I don't know what else you can do?... It was a good thing in the end, it got the information out. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2008)

Statements above explain that accusations that the council misused funds, for the Eco-Centre, which might have been allocated for other purposes in the town, were unsubstantiated. Although the project leaders did eventually make every effort to be transparent, the finances still were a concern, and created contention amongst townspeople. These statements above demonstrate that the accusations that funds were misused were seen as false. It seems that the signatures on the petition were not really a signal of dissent but of the overwhelming fear of increased financial decline in an already financially stressed community.

Firstly, according to the accounts of the people I interviewed, the proponents of the petition did not understand the reserves and the wider political picture. Even though the facts were made readily available to everyone to prove that the town's people were not paying for the Eco-Centre with their property taxes, project leaders were still mistrusted by the naysayers. This implies that there was a more deep seated fear behind the division that existed in the town. The financial concerns did not prove to exist as

stated so that led to the conclusion that some general underlying fear of change may have been the main reason.

5.2.4 Competition for services

A second issue that emerged from the petition and that divided the community was the claim that the Eco-Centre was creating competition with other facilities in the community:

It's one of the perceptions out there that the, - the opponents to the project always cite you know.... No wonder you're having trouble keeping the town hall open, everybody is meeting out at the Eco-Centre. And I take issue with that because I don't think that is happening because the Eco-Centre facilitates groups, small groups and a group of ten people or six people are not going to be renting the town hall anyway because its a huge facility and ... weddings, there is hardly any of those anymore. So I mean that's one that's more of a problem that there are not the, there's not the weddings, there's not the big community events, there's not the cabarets, there just aren't those things anymore. That's one of the biggest problems and the fact that that a particular facility needs some retrofitting to make it more cost-effective to operate... Those are the problems, not the fact that there are meetings elsewhere but we face that criticism all the time. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2008)

When asked why some individuals opposed the eco-project so vehemently a respondent said:

Well, I'm sure it would be fear. I don't know, It just might be human nature, jealousy. But the other part might have something to do with the restaurant, because they might lose business. Those cafés were just nip and tuck whether they'd stay open in the first place and they may have thought that. They may have also have been afraid of the cost. (Interviewee # 9, March 29, 2008)

This specific concern expressed that the Eco-Centre took business away from other coffee shops in town was proven to be without grounds. According to both the person above and the one below, the café was not doing good business prior to the Eco-Centre opening:

When our Eco-Centre opened, there was a one coffee shop on Main Street and that's all there ever was on Main Street. There was another one going here that wasn't doing that well and that had really nothing to do with the Eco-Centre. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007)

This person went on to explain again that, in fact, other facilities in the town were saved due to the Eco-Centre and the business it brought to the town.

So, all these 'naysayers', you just wish you could sit them in a chair and say you know what, the Health Centre is still even there because of what's going on here and they wouldn't believe that but that's true. (Interviewee # 11, March 30, 2007)

It can be concluded that, in fact, the Eco-Centre did not take business away from other services in the town as argued. Furthermore, the decline in the hall rentals and the café's customers was related to the town's population shift, so the facilities were simply no longer in use as they had been previously. Instead of being the reason for these services to decline, the project was a factor in enabling the community leaders to maintain vital services such as the health centre and school.

5.2.5 The town split

Added to the other factors related to the petition, it became evident that there was a long standing split in the community that existed long before the eco-project. When I inquired, no one was able to define the origins or nature of the division clearly. It was explained by the townspeople that, "that split exists period" and that certain people always seem to be against certain others. Though not clearly delineated the split apparently played a role in every issue in town. It was learned that the naysayers were aligned with one side of this long standing split in the community:

The one group is, ...They're the ones that didn't really approve, they felt that the town was getting the short end of the stick. The streets weren't being done, ...That, I don't think had anything to do with the Eco-Centre. The Eco- Centre was, alone on itself. They were keeping everything separate so the budget that run and I think that's where it comes to not understanding where the budget that they had for those years, were still running on what they had already allotted for the town, for the streets, for the sewers, for the, that didn't change but people felt it did. People felt that the quality of the services that were being out there and it was all being spent out at the Eco-Centre which is. The one group is really quite the **naysayers**. ...

I think there was quite a split in town before, ...groups that you know, it's kinda separated. ... Yeah, and these groups don't mix, they don't necessarily, I don't know if its not liking each other but just not doing the same things so they all seem to be resistant against each other, a lot of it is personality as opposed to what, uhhh, the goal is, they each have a goal and the goal is the same but because their group. (Interviewee # 10, March 30, 2008) [my emphasis]

He/she followed with this example:

You've got the one hundred year reunion group of ladies and you've got the old town hall group of ladies. Their goal is the same; they wanna restore the old town hall, they wanna have a great one hundred year reunion, but they each have different ways of, getting to that point. So they're constantly bickering between each group too. But yet they still want the same goal, they just because, I don't know if its, personality, its, some may not like the other so that's clouding the issue and they're not realizing that they want the same goal. So let's work together and try to get to that goal. You know, more heads are better than one, that many people working whether its, your gonna get more donations, your gonna get a better party but sometimes when you have personalities in the mix, its things go wrong and it works so much better when you have somebody saying, you know, it's the same goal ladies, we both want the same thing. Right? (Interviewee # 10, March 30, 2008)

It was apparent from this interview that the town split had played a role in the dissention regarding the eco-project. Exactly what its role is and the degree of its effect is still unknown and not necessary for the purpose of this research to resolve. It is important to note that the respondents above also attest to the fact that the suspicions of this group were unfounded since the finances for the Eco-Centre were separate from those of the town.

5.2.6 Conclusions regarding the petition

The thesis research question was based on evidence that a conflict existed in the community regarding the eco-project. Therefore, one of the research goals was to understand the concerns related to the conflict and whether the petition circulated was representative of that conflict or other factors in the community. It became evident early in the interviews that this conflict was more cultural and social than it was issue based. Furthermore, it was concluded that the conflict was not directly related to concerns about the eco-project. The data show that there was a very small, yet significantly vocal segment of the community who felt threatened by the project. As the following interviewee explains:

As I've said before, you know an undercurrent of unrest, it still exists out there I guess you've learned with this exercise... perhaps there was, ...need for a big general meeting of the style that have been over the last two years now and there have been three if one considers the meeting over the.. the petition. So, probably looking back – probably there should have been something like that and bring it to the public's attention there and people who are interested can

come and read the material and make up their own mind. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2008)

Another respondent adds:

I know there are some things that they feel they should've, they could've done a little bit differently but you, it's like everything, building your own home... There are some people that think that green is not the way to go that, uhhh, ... a few people, just say they flatly don't agree with what was going on ...I would think there would only be about fifteen percent that are like so far that unless there's ones that are just quietly like not voicing their disagreements but I would say it would only be fifteen percent [that openly opposed the project. (Interviewee # 10, March 30)]

It can be concluded that the petition as it was stated, did not represent the real concerns at Craik. It did express the overall concern about the local economy. It seems that the naysayers were sceptical that the eco-project could provide a solution to the economic depression and they feared that it could actually make things worse. Having examined the naysayers claims in light of the overall situation, it seems that they were misguided and so it can be concluded that the petition was based on misinformation and fear. That fear was further fuelled by the long standing division that existed prior to the eco-project.

The examination of the petition leads us to the conclusion that, as previously suspected, the deeper concerns were not those stated. The fact, that despite financial details of the project being made completely open and available, there was still mistrust and anger in the community, indicates another concern. Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the statements of the respondents above shows that the issues relate to matters of leadership, economics and communication. These issues need to be analyzed more carefully to learn why the local people have not been able to fully accept and support the project and this will be done in chapter six.

Almost all respondents indicate that strong leadership was a key factor in the development and success of the project. As learned in the preliminary documentary analysis, there were a few individuals, however, who took extreme exception to the leadership and particularly the decision to go forward with the project. This was the first indication that the project was in conflict. The dissenting individuals circulated a petition claiming that the town leadership had abused their privileges, spent funds improperly and

had not accounted for them. This chapter examined and analyzed these claims more deeply and, it was learned that, the claims were viewed as inaccurate or misleading by most of the people interviewed. This investigation learned that instead, the petition was rooted in misinformation and a previous long standing social division that was not directly relevant to the eco-project or the research question.

The question remains: Why did the persons who instigated the petition not relay accurate information even though the information was made available to them? What were the causes of their fear, anger and mistrust? It appears that they did not have a full understanding of the ‘reserves’ and the broader political threat of amalgamation that the municipality was resisting. Also, the general consensus was that these individuals had other personal issues, some of which may have been related to a previous long standing split in the community.

The analysis concludes that, since the petition’s claims of misuse of funds, raising taxes and lack of disclosure did not have a solid basis, there must be other underlying reasons for the unrest. It was also concluded that the petition was based on misinformation and other complex social factors in the Craik community and that the underlying concern was the overall fear of the community’s economic decline and the related general fear of social change. However, some community leaders stressed that the events surrounding the petition created an opportunity to better inform the wider community about the eco-project and the community goals generally. The next section documents two other constraining factors present in the data.

5.3 A clash of world views

Towards the end of the construction of the Eco-Centre, there was an incident that may be more indicative of the deeper source of the dissent. The ecologist relays the incident to me in this way:

[We] thought we done a pretty good job and then when the building was half done, the people that were going to manage the restaurant and the meeting rooms walked in and asked where there going to put the VLTs (Video Lottery Terminals)? Well, [the contractor] just went ballistic. He just- he went marching over to the town office and ...And said, “Look, what’s this all about the VLTs?” And the administrator said “Well, you know, in order to make a go of it, you know the restaurant’s right here, we’ve gotta have VLTs.” And, the

contractor said, “I’ll burn the place to the ground before I’ll see a VLT in there.” So then you know everything was in an uproar. (Interviewee #2, February 13, 2007)

This event was relayed to me by several respondents as a pivotal juncture that threatened the continuation of the entire project. The incident clearly raised two conflicting sets of values, those situated in the mainstream economics versus those of an alternative world view. However, as with the petition, the way in which the conflict was managed attests to the ability of the leaders to address challenges in a constructive manner. The ecologist stated that this was the strategy taken:

So then what they did was they called a time-out and they set up a weekend meeting for a number of people in the community as well as all the people involved in the project to have a retreat. A weekend retreat where we kind of go through it, so I had to do the homework. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007)

5.4 Social change

A local business person speaks of how the project has affected him/her, the various different kinds of sustainability, and another factor. He/she states social sustainability as a factor that needs to be addressed:

This project here is being driven environmentally and economically is kinda following behind and social sustainability is kinda following behind that. I think **social sustainability has to follow...**

It’s been one of the best things I’ve ever done. I mean it’s, like I say, it’s costing me tons of money, tons of money but, like I say, ...it’s been so much fun and so educational and just so changes the way, the person you are, by being involved with those people, shouldn’t call them those people but those people that were on the project. It’s changed my whole my whole philosophy really.

...That’s why I think the **social component** just kinda gets dragged along with the rest of it because it is such an all encompassing project. (Interviewee # 5, February 15, 2007) [my emphasis]

He/she went on to explain further:

I’ve met people that I would never have normally associated with really. Not that I wouldn’t associate with them but as people I’ve never fallen, I would have never fallen into. You know, like,andand ... those guys are all just great guys and there just people that I have ever met cause were just in completely different cycles you know. **Now, were not so completely different circles and it was just amazing...** [He was very emotional about this](Interviewee # 5, February 15, 2007) [my emphasis]

This person is aware in a positive way that the project has affected people's world view and that the project has brought with it a social change that has altered their values. This social change related to the project may be the very aspect that others in the community, especially those less involved, are afraid of. Another negative factor spoken of by several respondents was burnout or loss of key actors.

5.5 Burnout of key actors

While the work on the eco-project has become all important to them, it also dominates their lives and they are concerned that their energies may become exhausted or other aspects of their lives will suffer. The following statement was typical of most CSLP members:

That's turned into something and is probably consuming more time than I ever would have imagined and perhaps more than I want but I'm ,... It's like the IRA – once in never out kind of a thing so, .. but its also very enjoyable. The point you raised about competition for time though is a significant one. For instance, I can't devote as much time to these other things as I should be. I don't have time to do that and why, well because I'm so intensely involved in this project. But, that's just the way it is (Interviewee # 1, February, 9, 2009)

Another respondent expresses a concern that the project is dependant on the commitment and energies of such a few people:

It's so like **its so people driven** [*slower*] the project moves ahead but **if we..** [*slowing*] **lose[...]**, well holy cow he's gonna be almost impossible to replace... I hate to use a use a death in the family analogy but that's a pretty good that is that's absolutely the way it is... cause when we lost [] the thing is, holy man this is just, the meetings were bad and the people were starting to fight and were starting ohhh, this whole house of cards we built is tumbling,... And there is kind of a void there then and all the powers have to be shifted and things have to be changed to fill that void but hopefully somebody steps up to fill (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007) [my emphasis]

5.6 Summary of the chapter

Several overarching contradictions at Craik emerged from the data. The first was the need to save the town versus the need to save the environment. The community split emphasized the second and related contradiction which is a corresponding difference in focus between environmental and economic concerns.

It was concluded that the petition was not a direct indication of the problem but a symptom of a deeper problem. To learn the underlying causes of the conflict at Craik, three factors were thought to answer more directly to the reasons for mistrust of the project. They were leadership, education, and economics. These three areas will be examined in the next chapter and analyzed from the theoretical framework explained in chapter two.

CHAPTER 6: THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the critical theoretical framework introduced in chapter two will be applied to examine the meaning of the underlying structures and processes which produced contradictions and tensions in the town of Craik. To review, the key objectives of this study are as follows: The research question posed the following objective: **To determine the social and cultural factors that inhibit the Craik eco-project leaders from meeting their economic and environmental goals.** This objective has been explored through asking four inter-related questions: (1) What are the different levels of engagement between the CSLP committee and other members of the community? (2) What are the different levels of acceptance of the project by both members of the committee and some individuals in the town? (3) What are the discrepancies between the goals for the farming population and the project leaders? (4) What are the different views regarding the relationship between the established social and economic structures?

These different views were shaped by a divergence of perspectives. In some cases, the gaps between individuals were bridged through working towards a common goal, the continued viability of the town. In other cases, the differences appeared too great and long standing to be reconciled. These contradictions and tensions manifested in the petition discussed in the previous chapter. It was concluded that some of the contradictions and tensions which resulted in the petition pointed to deeper problems not directly related to the eco-project. These deeper issues were indicated by comments expressed by some respondents about social change and the clash of world views that was expressed over the 'VLT event'.

The analysis of the town division over the eco-project points to three main factors that require further examination. These three factors are leadership, education and economics. The three factors will be discussed next, to critically examine the different

perspectives presented and interpret their relevance to the research questions regarding the division at Craik. It has been repeatedly stressed that leadership is central to the success of the project and it has also been the aspect most criticised. Since it is such an integral factor, it will be examined more critically in the following section.

6.2 Leadership

Alberto Melucci (1996), states that leadership is the crucial element in the success of any social movement. The leadership at Craik has been established as a key positive factor in initiating the eco-project. It is also important to consider if the lack of progress on the project as a whole is related to leadership. One of the goals of the research was to account for the different levels of engagement between the CSLP leaders and members of the community. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the nature of the leadership at Craik in more depth. The following analysis of the CSLP leadership will be done using Melucci's theoretical framework which identifies the nature of leadership that is needed for the greatest probability of success in a social movement.

Melucci (1996), defines effective leadership according to five interrelated components. These are that leaders must be able to (1) define objectives, (2) provide the means for action, (3) maintain the structure of the movement, (4) mobilize the support base, and (5) maintain and reinforce the identity of the group. He summarizes these tasks by saying, "thus, the fulcrum for leadership action is the decision, that is, the capacity to choose between alternatives and reduce uncertainties" (340). The following six sub-sections examine the leadership of the CSLP, using these five criteria.

6.2.1 Defining objectives

Defining objectives implies the ability to determine the goals and the priorities of the group. It has been determined earlier that both the outside and the local leadership comprised the primary supporting factor in the initiation of the project. Significant to the project's success is that leadership at Craik had the foresight to clearly define the project's needs and objectives from the start. A townspeople provides verification that the leaders had a clear sense of their goals and were determined to achieve them:

I think they have a few people that were really dug their heels in. Like I think there was a few in the forefront that really said we really need to do this and they were probably the pushers and I think you have to have that. You have to have a few that are willing to take that extra step and really start pushing and saying like we're going to do this, coming up with a plan how much its going to cost and they were lucky enough where they had, I can think of at least five of them right now. (Interviewee # 10, March 20, 2007)

From the statements above it can be concluded that this aspect of leadership at Craik was strong since the leaders were able to define objectives clearly and initiate actions towards them. Strong local leadership can be found in the following statement from a local business person:

It was council driven and it wouldn't have gone without that. And sometimes you have to lead even if nobody wants to follow.... You have to do it and then in the end, it tends the work out pretty good I think. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

6.2.2 The means for action

Aware that the community needed the project to be cost effective, the outside leaders provided valuable support through the Institute for Human Ecology, at little expense to the project. The individuals in that organization had the necessary knowledge and expertise and are committed to promoting sustainable building methods that are suitable for the prairie climate. This meant that the project did not have to hire a professional architect and crew, which proved a tremendous financial advantage. The leader from outside explains his role in providing this crew:

They didn't have a whole lot of money and so that was part of what the Prairie Institute for Human Ecology did was to find ways for them to achieve their goals, given what resources they had. So I was mainly involved in finding a crew that could design and build the building within a budget they could afford. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007)

Another critical resource was the funding that the local leaders were able to obtain:

We got the FCM funding at the very start. That was a critical grant. If they wouldn't a got that funding, maybe all approval in the world wouldn't made any difference. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

Other funds came from the RM reserves and a short term loan. Plus, the committee exercised their social capital and networked to acquire a number of donations

in kind consisting of materials and equipment use (Interviewee # 11, December 18, 2008; Appendix 6). Therefore, the data show that the leaders can be credited for providing needed resources both in terms of expertise and funding.

6.2.3 Maintain the structure of the movement

Communication and education are a vital need in any movement since the leaders must counteract the influence of emerging conflicts (Melucci, 1996). The CSLP leaders (consisting of PIHE members and Town and RM of Craik administrators) engaged in community education and, when confronted by a petition, welcomed the community meeting as an opportunity to relay the facts about the eco-project and correct misunderstandings in the community. Furthermore, they did engage in a number of efforts to educate community members. While there still exists a rift between those who are committed to the project and those who are not, the CSLP leadership did have a great deal of success. An example is the individual quoted below, who speaks about his learning to be more “environmentally slanted”:

Really the environmental slant of it was just a sidebar to start for me because I wasn't, you know, I'm not environmentally slanted at all or I wasn't at that time. But once you get involved, then you get educated from the contractors that we had on the building and you know the people who came out and talked, you.. Kind of changes the way you think. And so it started moving **more from an economical slant to more of an environmental slant at the end**, which was kind of interesting. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007) [my emphasis]

Variations on the above statement were common if not the norm among the committee members. However it can be judged that there was little or significantly less commitment to advancing environmental practices amongst most members of the community. One of the outside leaders poignantly expresses this difference, stating, “I guess what I'm disappointed as I don't see much movement of the average person in the community” (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007). The statement above suggests that the environmental aspect became important to some but was not valued highly by the majority of the townspeople and so it can be concluded that the leaders were not able to sufficiently engage the local people to take initiative and actively support the environmental ideals and goals of the project.

6.2.4 Mobilize the support base

Again, according to Melucci, for any movement to be effective, it is essential to attract a growing base of support among the members. This component is directly related to the ability of the leaders to articulate goals both inside and outside the core group (Melucci, 1996). At Craik, while there has been an ongoing effort to increase the support base, the limited number of committed individuals who volunteer their time and energy regularly to the project's activities, is cited by a CSLP member as a problem. There is also a concern about burn out in the case of some of the volunteers:

And then our other real challenge, I think is the people, just the volunteers and we don't have enough people. Because you can only drive somebody, you know, like a work horse for so long before they start to buck and we've done that to a few people. You know we've used some people really heavily and they've been good. [], he jumped right in with both feet and he's been our greatest volunteer. He's the greatest guy but I don't know how long you can make somebody keep going like that. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

In the preceding section, it was clear that the majority of local people did not embrace the environmental ideals of the project which resulted in a few people doing the majority of the work. It can be concluded that the ability of the project to reach its full potential is limited by a shortage of highly committed individuals. The question here is why have other people not become more committed? Has something been missed or is it a consequence of a declining rural population or something else?

6.2.5 Maintain and reinforce the identity of the group

The fifth component of good leadership, according to Melucci, is related to the former one where the ability to create the solidarity needed to maintain a support base (Melucci, 1996). This was found to be an area where the leaders were remiss at the beginning. However, once they recognized that they needed to be more inclusive of the general population, they did make concerted efforts to address the problem, as indicated by the following respondent:

Ohhhhhhh, [huge sigh]...gained sufficient support. ... We made a lot of attempts initially to get that support whether it was things we put in the local news through our seminar series which we put out to the public and tried to attract people to come to. We had a public meeting, an update on the project that ...we made lots of attempts to engage people in terms of support. (Interviewee # 1, February 9, 2007)

The leadership provided the vision for the project and were able to acquire necessary resources to achieve their initial goals. They were effective in mobilizing a limited group of people. However, they did not manage to mobilize a larger support base within the community and maintain a strong identity in the group. Melucci states that consciousness is necessary in order to maintain solidarity in a movement (Melucci, 1996). Although the leaders provided environmental education about the value of sustainable lifestyles and they were able to convince the people to build the Eco-Centre using principles of renewable energy, they were not able to convince the people to commit to a larger solar project. The outside visionary leader expresses disappointment with the fact that Craik has not yet embraced the concept of a comprehensive energy transition:

I mean Craik could have said we're not going to, we don't have the money to build an Eco Centre as that but what we're going to do is we're going to meet the Kyoto standards and we're going to make this town the most energy efficient town in North America. We're going to put it on the map. And they could have done that and everybody in town could have saved money. I'm absolutely convinced; they could have all been saving money on their utility bills and put their town on the map at the same time. ... They haven't bought into that yet and I don't know why. I'm hoping that with the Youth Build, one of the things that I tried to get the town going on is building these hot water solar panels. They're just dead easy to build, in our climate, I mean like right now a day like today much of the hot water that goes through our floor system to heat the house is coming from those solar panels. It's just dead easy, it doesn't cost much you know, ...I'd hoped that by now every house in Craik would have a big solar panel up. You don't emit any greenhouse gases, costs virtually nothing to make those things and ... and I'd like to see them in every house in Saskatchewan right. ... And so when you drove by, people would put on the brakes and say, "What's going on there?" And, they'd pull up to town. (Interviewee # 2, February 13, 2007)

It is evident that the ecologist knew that solar energy could be an eco-attraction in itself and saw the economic value in a renewable energy transformation for the community. Yet, he was not able to convince the people that this was the viable economic plan.

6.2.6 Summary of analysis of leadership

According to Melucci, the legitimization of leadership always involves multiple factors and these factors are all related to different aspects of communication and the

degree of identification of the leader with the norms and expectations of the people. Finally, Melucci tells us that “the effectiveness of the leader, or leaders, is the most crucial aspect for the success or failure of any movement’s objectives” (Melucci, 1996, 341).

In many respects the leadership meets Melucci’s criteria. They defined objectives, acquired the means for action by providing the necessary resources and to a large degree maintained the structure of the movement. The outside leaders at Craik can be credited with integrating themselves and relating extremely well with the community, thus gaining a substantial degree of support from the local community government. It is noted, however, that this support may have been largely due to the timing, since the local government was desperate and poised to support any project that might provide hope for the town’s revival in order to resist the threat of amalgamation with larger centres. As well as clearly defining the goals of the project, leaders were competent in acquiring the necessary resources to achieve those objectives. They were less effective in mobilizing a broader support base and maintaining the identity of the group.

It has been determined that Melucci’s criteria for leadership at Craik were met in the first three (defining objectives, means of action, structure of the movement), but not effectively enough in last two components (mobilizing the support base and fostering group coherency) for successful leadership of a movement. It was found that, while respondents adamantly stated that leadership was one of the most vital elements for the success of the project, there is also evidence that both the outside and the local leadership could be faulted for limited involvement of other townspeople at the beginning of the eco-project. However, both the outside and local leadership can be commended for their accountability and relating very well overall within the community and furthermore, it was learned that they acknowledged their early lack of communication and made concerted efforts to compensate for their omission.

Since they were unable to sufficiently mobilize the support base and reinforce the identity of the group, it can be concluded that the leaders were not able to adequately address the needs of the local population at Craik. It appears that they were not able to develop a degree of consciousness of the benefits of and need for a radical change in the local people’s world view that could lead to further renewable energy development. The

cause of the leader's failing in this area may be the form of the education that was employed. Therefore, the next section examines the educational efforts that were undertaken to discern if the education was focused in a manner that adequately responded to the community's concerns.

6.3 Education

The issue of environmental education will be developed in this section employing the works of Schnaiberg, Scheer and Melucci. In chapter two I discussed Allan Schnaiberg's (1980) theoretical examination of environmental recycling movements in metropolitan Chicago. Schnaiberg unpacks the present problem of environmentalism and explains how and why it is limited in its actions. He emphasizes that environmentalism needs to incorporate the development of class consciousness in its educational agenda

The nature of this consciousness is explained by Hermann Scheer (2001). According to Scheer, state and political leaders cannot formulate sustainable alternatives since they are tied to the established patterns of action. This is often due to the fact that they themselves have vested interests in the energy industry (160). Therefore, state and local authorities frequently act more like representatives of corporate interest than of the general public. The authorities are not usually supportive of communities to develop a solar energy strategy. Therefore, these communities need to be aware of these dominant connected interests in order to be motivated to take actions that are counter to the prevailing dominant norms (183).

According to Scheer, since the energy supply is the basis for existence of the overall economy, society is dependent on constant availability of energy. Therefore, political institutions feel dependant on the energy sector and are unwilling to support initiatives that act independently of that sector (166). In Saskatchewan, the government is tied to corporate interests in maintaining current energy systems through its interests in Sask Power and the uranium industry in the province. These are factors that severely limit authority's ability to develop and support renewable energy strategies. Communities who want to develop renewable energy strategies present a challenge to the dominant energy systems, and so the communities need a developed degree of critical and autonomous thinking.

Alberto Melucci states that education that develops consciousness of the dominant economic forces has been identified as the second vital factor for the success of a social movement (Melucci, 1996). The leaders at Craik did, in fact, undertake extensive efforts to educate the local people and leaders about the environmental ideals of the CSLP. However, based on Melucci's work, it was concluded in the previous section that the focus of the environmental education was not as effective as it could have been. The education provided by CSLP leaders did not focus on developing consciousness of the need for an alternative to the dominant energy systems. Alternative energy development could then be used to address the town's need to eventually ensure a concrete and long term solution to their economic crisis.

Schnaiberg furthers Melucci's argument, stating that environmentalism needs to develop class consciousness of socio-political and economic forces in its educational agenda. Schnaiberg explains, using his treadmill of production theory, that environmentalism is usually thwarted because it becomes enmeshed with the mechanisms of the dominant market economy. This tends to compromise the ideals of the ecologists and diminish the effectiveness of any projects. He further explains that, the appropriate technology movement provides the most extensive answer to the existing treadmill of production since, it takes the movement "out of its moral crusade or protest that is against something, and transforms it into one in favour of a specified alternative" (389). This concept may provide a means to understand one of the shortcomings of educational efforts at Craik. The argument for appropriate technology provides a specific economic solution, that is needed at Craik in order for environmentalism to be more meaningful and appealing to the local people.

It became evident in the data that the main focus of the environmental education on behalf of both the outside and inside leaders was on individual responsibility for sustainable practices rather than addressing structural barriers to renewable energy as a long term solution to the economic problem. The realization of the need for a behavioural change was evident throughout my interviews. In fact, it was the comment heard most frequently. When asked what the future needs were for the project this CSLP member states:

To, have more of the philosophy of this project. If we get more people composting, we get more people buying two button toilets, more people building with straw bales,

more people who are going off grid. ...All of those kinds of things. I mean more symbols are important because that suggests a change in behaviour. (Interviewee # 1, April 30, 2007)

A strong emphasis on the importance of individual behavioural change as the focus of the education is identified as a problem in the focus of the education at Craik. While individual actions are indisputably 'good', they do not answer to the overwhelming concerns about the local economy or extensively, to the current concern about climate change. Below, the following person, an advocate of the CSLP, states his concerns about the long term economic viability of the project:

Well, the big challenge to keep it rolling is to me is economics cause it has to have the economics to drive it. It doesn't matter how good a project or how pure a project it is or how, wholesome and good for the whole world the project is if you don't have the economics it's just not going to happen. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

The above two quotations point to the deeper underlying issue at the heart of the thesis' argument; the long-term success of the CSLP depends on effectively fusing environmental and economic sustainability. The following statement also indicates that even though individual people have begun to practice more environmentally sustainable living, local economics has not diminished as the all encompassing concern

I see the changes that they're making. Almost subconsciously some people are definitely doing it to save the environment and some people are doing it because it makes economic sense and some people are doing it because their neighbour did it. ... And so it's been an interesting thing to watch as it plays out. I think it's kind of funny. ... Even some who don't like the project are doing it because it makes economic sense. (Interviewee # 5, February 16, 2007)

Schnaiberg explains that, while the state supports monopoly capital expansion, it increases legitimating of the production treadmill and the imperatives of the market including capital expansion lead to farmers' dependence on external commodities. Pollution control and energy conservation strategies imply that production may be permitted to expand, as does recycling of materials already produced (Schnaiberg, 2000). In his view, each of these is useful to some degree in protecting the ecology. However, the current energy crisis spurs us to a more serious consideration of alternate energy sources and technology. He concludes his argument by saying that, "a true commitment to ecological protection and equity would draw on the techniques of appropriate

technology” (393). Therefore, while Schnaiberg identifies that the solution is in appropriate technology and the practical identification of a broad based application of these appropriate technologies, he also argues that education to develop consciousness about the larger socio-political interests will be needed in order to develop people’s understanding before they will accept the need for such a radical social change (391).

Hermann Scheer (2001) discusses how the complexity of concerns faced by environmental movements frequently means that they are diffused rather than focused:

Many contradictions within environmental movements emanate from the tradition of classical nature and landscape preservation. ...They represent contradictions that until now were often swept under the carpet in the environmental movement but which have come to light with the introduction of renewable energies. ... Even today many who think and act in a thoroughly ecologically responsible way in favour of alternatives are not aware of the possibility of renewable energies and question whether mankind’s energy needs can be met in full by them. (167-168)

This thesis argues that this is where the CSLP’s educational efforts have been inadequate. The lack of an adequate practical economic solution in the educational agenda explains, to some degree, the different levels of acceptance of the project by leaders and local citizens and why community members don’t have the same level of ownership in the project. The CSLP leaders under emphasized the need for renewable energy as the potential basis for new socio-economic development. Furthermore, the overall resistance to social change in the community indicates that the local people have not sufficient consciousness to understand the degree that larger economic and political structures have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. The next section examines the question of economics and its relevance to the eco-project.

6.4 Economics

As noted above, the concern expressed repeatedly by the local people was regarding the long term economic sustainability of the project and the town. Schnaiberg’s theoretical concept of the treadmill of production can also assist in understanding people’s economic concerns and the challenges that face the CSLP in involving the other members of the community in the environmental sustainability project.

The following excerpt from a secondary interview reveals that, even though the Eco-Centre has raised the profile of the community and there are some economic spinoffs, the predominant concern expressed is still focused on the sustainability of the local economy:

And if some of the new businesses are maybe a feedlot I've got some concerns about that but at the same time you have to remember to the context, it's a farming community. Farmers are desperate and they need to develop dollars when they can and you have to make tradeoffs. I think if Monsanto wanted to set up a production plant here that's a pretty easy – you either support that or you don't. In terms of them setting up operations here though anything that could happen right but what if a company like that what if Shell Oil or Bear Crop science, or Monsanto or Cameco came here and said: "Here's a million dollars for your project and we call this the Cameco Eco-Centre?" On one level the decision is an easy – you don't do it. But then dollars – dollars have weight you know. I hope we're never faced with it. My point was we accept it, hell we accept money from Sask Energy with not even blinking, – and maybe we should. So, that whole business of ethical offers of funding is, you know, it's a big issue. (Interviewee #1, April 30, 2007)

The interviewee above indicates the degree of vulnerability that the eco-project has to mainstream interests, given that the local community still views itself at risk economically. This is an important issue related to the long term credibility and hence sustainability of the project.

This respondent later explained in detail that, the ongoing priority is still saving the town and that, in his/her view, the town is still in jeopardy. When asked what his/her number one goal would be for the community, this was their response:

Well [sigh] let me see how can I put this ...number one, to maintain the level of services we now have. I mean the school. **The reason at the beginning to do something was to protect those things – and they're still, you know, ...They're still in jeopardy.** (Interviewee # 1, April 30, 2007) [my emphasis]

Again, another respondent, not a CSLP member, expressed in another way that the community's long term stability is still townspeople or residents' priority concern. While he/she stated that, "the project is interesting," when asked if the Eco-Centre has been an economic benefit to the community, he/she was sceptical:

Well, definitely buying gas. I don't know that there's been an awful lot otherwise. People like yourself come here and go again and its interesting but I don't know that you're going to spend any money here. And, occasionally it certainly makes life more interesting for anybody that's working at it. But as far as, I really can't see that there's a lot of money in it (Interviewee # 9, March 29, 2007).

From the statements above it is evident that the Eco-Centre was viewed by the local people as a means to their end, which was to save the town, and not as a goal in itself. While they are to be highly commended for undertaking the five year project, it is clear that the people did not primarily value it for the environmental ideals and practices it promotes. Rather, most people saw the project as an eco-tourism business and possible means to help economically regenerate their community. Because saving the town was the people's focus, the Eco-Centre as an eco-business has become the whole project and the larger sustainability plan has become negligible. Furthermore, members of the community were sceptical as to whether the eco-project could create enough economic benefits to make the necessary difference in the local economy.

It is evident that, the outside project leaders perceived the reasons for the eco-village differently from the local people and therefore neglected to adequately consider and address the economic needs of the local farming population as a key aspect of the agenda of the five year plan.

6.5 What is not in data?

Sometimes one gains critical insights from what material and discursive practices are not present in the data that could lead people to rethink their situation and options (Melucci, 1996). In this case, the terms renewable, solar and wind energy, are absent in the data except in several quotations by an outside leader. This reveals something very important to this research. The lack of mention of these concepts by the local respondents clearly indicates that they have not seen renewable energy development to be a very important aspect of the eco-project.

According to Hermann Scheer (2001), the challenge to leaders who attempt to develop renewable energy projects is that:

Those who demand anything new are faced in principle with the need to provide proof: to convince others that the new order will be better than the status quo. This explains why conservatives usually have an easier time pleading their case than innovators. They find support from firmly imprinted patterns of thought and established habits, denounce new approaches with unsupported claims, and create fear and uncertainty about the untried novelty. The more thorough and comprehensive such innovations are, the more there are motives and opportunities for this type of psychological warfare. Solar energy questions so

many things that the psychologically understandable attraction of thinking in old patterns becomes – a real, major obstacle (180).

He goes on to explain that historically, this is not new; the social movements of the nineteenth century had similar experiences under much more difficult conditions. Therefore, in order to enact a solar strategy, independent initiatives need to break through constraints that allegedly exist, in order to create successful projects. Such a strategy needs impetus from committed individuals who will not only demand these alternatives but who will themselves turn them into reality (201). Scheer explains that development of solar energy technologies will alter existing organizational structures, making them more decentralized which helps to understand the defensive posture of those who support conventional economic and related energy structures. Such decentralization would support rural communities in their struggles to resist the dominant push for amalgamation.

Those in power positions are bound to resist solar energy because they realize the extent to which employing solar energy technologies will alter existing organizational structures towards more independence for the people. Techniques influence political and social patterns and there is a relationship between technology utilization and structural development. Structures once created demand their own technologies and once solar energy has been deployed, the existing structures will need to be modified accordingly. The same is true regarding modifying lifestyles. Scheer states:

Most people's consciousness is not changed primarily because of their understanding of necessities but, recalling a basic sociological insight by Karl Marx, by changing their economic circumstances. In other words, it changes with the practical reconfiguration of the energy system, but not before such a change (Scheer, 2001, 174).

A resistance occurs when people are asked to modify their lifestyles. Scheer argues further that, people need to experience the practical economic benefits of renewable energy before they are prepared to take measures that will eventually reconfigure the entire energy system. Therefore leaders need to initiate concrete projects fuelled by renewable energy sources (see Appendix 7).

6.6. Summary of theoretical analysis

Examination of the petition indicates that the answer to the internal division around the eco-project is not completely about financial abuses and transparency, as was stated in the petition. Economic stability has been an ongoing problem in Craik, as in all of rural Saskatchewan. Economics were the reason to initiate the project and since the project has not answered this concern sufficiently, economics are still the dominant issue. It is concluded that the environmental education at Craik did not provide a clear plan to show how renewable energy development could solve the problem of economic sustainability. One problem could be that education was focussed almost entirely on individual behavioural practices for environmental sustainability rather than on a strategy for development of renewable energy technologies that could provide a practical economic solution for the entire town.

The first set of questions did not ask specific questions about renewable energy although they did pose questions that could have led to that topic. I was surprised that there were no instances in the data where it was mentioned so in the secondary interviews I posed specific questions about renewable energy development. Other than in several comments by the outside ecologist leader, the data from the interviews was found to provide few instances where people mentioned renewable, geothermal, solar or wind energy. This would indicate that it is not viewed to be an important aspect of the project in most of the respondents' view. In fact, one local CSLP leader took exception to the fact that my study is titled, *Renewable Energy Development in Saskatchewan*, stating that, that was not, in his/her view, the focus of the eco-project.

Since economic concerns are at the heart of the community issues and Hermann Scheer's argument for renewable energy explains that renewable energy can provide the energy basis for a new economy, it is argued that practical renewable energy development could be part of the solution at Craik.

From the analysis, an overarching contradiction at Craik became evident. This can be simply stated as the need to save the town versus the need to save the environment. A secondary and deeper contradiction that derived from a study of the community split, consisted of the difference in focus between environmental and economic concerns. The

third more specific contradiction was located within the environmental, educational approach, which is a focus on individual behavioural change rather than a change in consciousness regarding the significance of the dominant social structure's economic basis on the fossil fuel energy systems.

The general overarching theme is conflict between ecological and economic goals and the overall conflict can be viewed as one between an idealistic global ecological vision and a practical local economic solution. An answer to this apparent contradiction could be the use of alternative technology to provide the practical economic solution. Lovins, in 1977, called this alternative the soft energy path. For him, it was both the economically and environmentally preferable option. Schnaiberg (2000), argues that the appropriate technology movement is the means to avoid the pitfalls of what he terms, the treadmill of production. Scheer (2000), argues that the key, to a combined economic and environmental sustainability, is a secure and clean energy which is renewable. Since, we have the technology and the knowledge available to make the transition from fossil to renewable energy systems, advocating individual behavioural change to sustainable lifestyles is an insufficient step to real sustainability (10). What are needed are communities using alternative energy as part of their economic base.

The eco-project at Craik has raised the community's profile, attracted a few new families and provided limited economic revenue. However, a comprehensive plan for economic development based on renewable energies is what the Craik community needs in order to meet the people's needs for a secure future. If the CSLP is to become the radical alternative model for sustainable living, that will transform all aspects of their community, its leaders need to address the question of their energy base. This means they need to develop a clear plan to make a transition to renewable energy as the source of both economic and environmental sustainability. That would transform the environmental ideals of the eco-project into a practical and tangible business plan using renewable energy as the energy source for economic development.

In conclusion, the barriers at Craik can be summed up as follows: Firstly, there is a limited degree of consciousness of the dominant energy systems and the need for alternate energy sources. Secondly, the education is based primarily on individual behavioural changes for sustainable practices rather than on a transition to renewable

energy sources. Thirdly, there is a deeply rooted resistance to social change in the community at Craik.

In answer to the research questions, these three barriers to positive change are identified as components of the cultural and social factors that inhibit the Craik project from success and constitute the non-facilitating factors for the eco-project. These factors explain why the leaders have not been able to sufficiently engage other members of the community in the project. The degree of consciousness present will also determine the extent to which this project could be transferred successfully to other communities. Therefore consciousness, of the need for more extensive renewable energy practices, is the most important educational factor for the eco-project development to be more successful in completing both its environmental and ecological goals.

The overall conclusion of the thesis is that even the CSLP members themselves have not yet developed a consciousness that could lead them to a comprehensive change to a renewable energy economy. Such a change would entail a more significant structural challenge. In other words, following the work of Warren, (1993) and Scott (1990), the members lack a shared counter-hegemonic orientation of how renewable energy could contribute to addressing local economic problems. According to Scheer, this consciousness will develop only once people experience the economic benefits of renewable energy practices and, not likely, much before. Therefore, the needed action at Craik is to develop a practical business plan with a renewable energy base.

Finally, have the leaders been able to successfully combine their economic and environmental goals? The overall concern is the long term economic sustainability of the project and the community. The leaders need to develop specific practical solutions based on renewable energy as the energy base for an economic business plan for the town. It is worth repeating the point made earlier that, despite the stated commitment to sustainable environmental practices the terms 'renewable and solar energy' were not present in the data. The absence in the data illustrates the need for more educational work involving project leaders in relation to renewable alternatives and economic benefits. Hermann Scheer argues that renewable energy is both the economic and environmental solution. The answer is not in a failure to educate about environmental sustainability but the specific focus of the environmental education. As Schnaiberg states, there is need for

education that poses renewable energy as the basis for practical economic development. People need to comprehend renewable energy as the essential practical means to help their community survive rather than merely idealistic environmental stewardship. The final conclusion of this thesis research is a deeper more important reason why the CSLP had not been enthusiastically supported by the local people. This reason correlates with the theoretical framework provided in the works of Hermann Scheer. Scheer argues: “Renewable energy is the new ‘ghost in the machine’ (2000, 3). He argues that, since energy is the source of all development, the people need a plan that shows renewable energy is the basis of economic development before the people will accept it as of value to them. Therefore, the final conclusion of the thesis is that the CSLP leaders need to develop a specific plan showing how renewable energy could provide the practical economic solution needed to ‘save the town’.

At this point I wish to acknowledge the accomplishments that this small but mighty group known as the CSLP have to their credit. To honour its work, I include here a list of some of their note worthy accomplishments from 2005 to date. Keep in mind that this was all done by a handful of people in a small prairie town of four hundred and three citizens:

- Construction of a 6,000 square foot Eco Centre , using straw bale construction, recycled wood beams from a local elevator, stone donated from local farmers for a stone wall to retain solar heat, composting toilets, passive solar and geothermal heating, and a biodegradable waste water system. They have also planted a full scale indigenous garden on the hillside and 45,000 fast growing trees.
- The golf course has been named a Certified Audubon Sanctuary.
- The town has started a communal composting system and has a no idling policy. Individuals are using lower energy practices such as low flush toilets and sprinkler hoses.
- Featured in the *National Geographic* and in *Canadian Living Magazine*
- In the spring of 2007 they had a Welcome Wagon event to celebrate the seventy newcomers to the community (see Appendix 10).

(For a more complete list of CSLP achievements over the past five years see Appendix 8).

There is no doubt that their accomplishments make an impressive list. The positive manifest consequences are obvious. However, the research question called for a focus on the inhibiting factors in hopes to further the possibility for positive development to continue at Craik. What is less visible are the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences. In the concluding chapter, I provide a brief overview of the thesis research concluding with a summary of some cultural and social factors which are often less evident yet have impacted on the success of the CSLP.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter will provide a brief summary of the thesis. This summary reviews the theoretical framework and methodology for the thesis, describes the facilitating and non-facilitating factors and discusses the theoretical conclusions. Finally, it provides a brief explanation of the CSLP as a New Social Movement and concludes with some recommendations for future research.

This research project consisted of an extensive case study of the Craik Sustainable Living Project with the goal of determining if they were able to meet the two stated goals of economic revitalization and environmental sustainability. It was learned at the onset that there were disparate views as to the purpose of the eco-project even between local and outside leadership and this division extended even deeper amongst the members of the local community.

This led to the research question being: **What are the cultural and social factors that inhibit the Craik project from meeting its stated environmental and economic goals?** This question was explored using two questions that examined secondary and related objectives: (1) to identify the facilitating factors and constraining factors for the project. (2) to determine the degree that the leaders had been able to include the other members of the community in the project. As the research progressed the second objective developed two strands (a) discerning the leader's sensitivity to community economic needs and (b) to learn to what degree this project could become a model for renewable energy projects. Usually in the language of sustainability, economic revitalization, social and environmental sustainability are not seen as separate entities. However, in the case of the CSLP, it seems that they were viewed separately and this may have contributed to the slow development of the project. While it is true that sustainability is a slow process, this thesis argues that there is potential for more progress

at Craik if approached in a more holistic and cohesive way. This research seeks to support the community's efforts to do that.

7.2 Summary of the thesis

7.2.1 Introduction

The eco-project vision at Craik can be credited to Dr. Lynn Oliphant, co-founder of the Prairie Institute for Human Ecology. His central argument is that to find solutions, people in Saskatchewan need to find alternatives that include an economic system based on a sustainable world view (Oliphant, 1997: 56-57). Hermann Scheer, German sociologist and economist who is president of EUROSOLAR and chairman of the World Council for Renewable Energy (WCRE), expresses a similar and recurrent theme in his numerous publications, asserting that, the world's chance to survive depends on the strategy of replacing existing energy sources with renewable energy sources and the necessary precondition is a radical change in political and economic strategies. This offers hope for a sustainable environmental solution that can assist to create a new economy and new social structure.

7.2.2 Theoretical framework and methodology

To develop a theoretical framework for this study I extensively reviewed new social movement theorists including Alain Touraine who is credited with having coined the term 'new social movement', Italian new social movement theorist Alberto Melucci, Alan Scott who studied Europe's green movement, Mark Warren who discusses the counter-hegemonic orientation of social movements, and Allan Schnaiberg whose work examines metropolitan Chicago's recycling programs. Although they all contribute to an understanding of new social movements, for the purpose of this research, I primarily use the work of Alberto Melucci and Allan Schnaiberg.

Alberto Melucci proposes the role of social movements is to provide a means for social change and to make visible specific issues such as the ecological crisis. Melucci provides an understanding of these movements as groups who construct a new social

reality through the transformation of values and lifestyles. Melucci's theory provides an appropriate framework to understand the transformation in the town of Craik and to identify related cultural issues. He emphasizes that sound leadership is a central and necessary component in this transformation and leaders need to be aware of related social and cultural issues in order to effect change. Furthermore, he asserts that communication and the circulation of information is also crucially important as a precondition for the mediation of tensions and their settlement. These factors provided key aspects of the framework to examine the issues of leadership and communication at Craik.

To study in depth the aspects at Craik, I used a qualitative methodology and a critical ethnographic approach was chosen because it was thought most appropriate to examine these contradictions. Jim Thomas explains that, "critical social research begins with the premise that new ways of thinking become tools by which we can act upon our world instead of being passively acted upon" (Thomas, 1993: 61). Ethnography is defined by J.W. Cresswell as "describing and interpreting a cultural or social group" (Cresswell, 1998: 65). This methodology is most suitable for the research at Craik and corresponds with the new social movement critical theoretical framework's conception of movements as groups who challenge established social relations.

7.2.3 Facilitating and constraining factors

The facilitating factors were presented in Chapter four. They were: the chronic farm crisis, location on a major highway, appropriate timing, having access to finances, "true grit" leadership, and a strong community history of agency and solidarity. All of these factors coalesced to create a fortunate confluence of events.

The constraining factors were examined in chapter five and though they initially were thought to relate to a petition which circulated in the town it appeared that the problem was more accurately related to insufficient communication from the leadership to other community members in the early stages of the project. This led to resentment and mistrust which was manifested in the petition. The petition was circulated charging that the leaders had acted imprudently and initially the petition appeared to indicate a large faction of dissent. Data in the interviews revealed, however, that the petition's

stated grievances were based not only on the stated issues but on an unfortunate mixture of confusion, misinformation and underlying dynamics in the community. It was found that the local leaders had addressed this misunderstanding by ensuring that there was complete transparency regarding the finances related to the project. It was therefore concluded that the petition was actually an indication of a deeper issue. It appeared that the true nature of the issue was deeply rooted resistance to social and cultural change. The question remained as to why the project was not as successful as had been hoped.

While most townspeople were supportive of the project in expectations of economic benefit for the community, they also expressed a lack of confidence and certainty that this benefit could be sustained. The local project leaders also expressed a concern that they would experience burnout if they could not involve others, especially for the long term. The outside leaders were discouraged that the local people did not seem to understand and value an environmentally sustainable approach to living and that they had not seen the deep significance of a solar or renewable development. These discrepancies reveal deep underlying differences in goals. While the local people needed the project to produce tangible economic benefits, the outside leadership were desirous of a larger more far reaching social change.

To uncover the possible explanations for these differing views and concerns and to determine if there was a means for the different issues to be complimentary rather than conflictive required the theoretical analysis offered in chapter six. The analysis in chapter six focussed on the role of leadership which Melucci (1996), Schnaiberg (2000) and Warren (1993) state is the most essential aspect of any successful movement for social change. The leadership at Craik was exceptional in most all respects according to Melucci's criteria. The main shortcoming of the leadership was (1) in mobilizing the support base and (2) galvanizing the identity of the group. Both aspects affected the formation of community solidarity. It seems that the outside leadership assumed that the local people would adopt their passion for the environment once they had a practical demonstration model and it appears that those leaders did not sufficiently answer to the economic needs and expectations of the local people. They needed to focus the project on renewable energy as the direction for economic development rather than just focusing narrowly on individual behavioural change for environmentally sustainable practices.

Data indicates that even the naysayers want to practice environmental stewardship when they are shown that it is economically to their benefit.

7.2.4 Analysis and conclusions

7.2.4.1 Counter-hegemony

The leadership expressed deep regret that they had not spent more time initially to educate and inform the local people. However, it was learned that they can actually be commended for providing extensive educational opportunities and programs over time. However, the focus of the education itself was problematic. It was determined that the educational focus on individual actions to practice environmental stewardship was an inadequate step to address the economic needs of the local community and the current global warming crisis. To re-orient community members to a common cause or counter-hegemony there needs to be a more developed practical and sustainable economic plan for the Craik community. This could be achieved by a transition to renewable energy systems to provide the new economic base for the Craik community (Warren, 1993; Melucci, 1996; Schnaiberg, 2000; Scheer, 2001). Furthermore, such a plan would provide an adequate local response to the global warming crisis.

This case study at Craik has examined the conflict between values and ideals and the practical steps that need to be taken to make these ideals a reality. I have argued that because some of those practical steps at Craik have not been adequately thought through and understood, the project has not progressed as rapidly as it could have. When the steps to be taken are not adequately understood, the dominant economic forces and the status quo threaten to overcome the accomplishment of the ideals.

These economic forces put pressures on agriculturalists and are making it impossible for them to thrive. These same economic structures define the terms that farmers and farming communities operate under in ways such that they are increasingly unable to continue to subsist. These economic forces and their relationships are maintained by corporate interests that also ignore the environmental consequences of production in order to maximize their profit. These are the outcomes of the imperatives of the market economy.

The current global economic forces are based in a fossil fuel energy system and the economic imperatives of the market economy are organized in such a manner that there appears to be no alternatives. In Saskatchewan, we currently have a strong example of the dominance of economic imperatives, in the current proposal by Bruce Power to build a nuclear power plant in the province. The prevailing proposition promoted by the uranium industry and the Saskatchewan government is that, in order to sustain our economy, we need nuclear power development.¹³ This is a clear example of hegemony as defined by Gramsci, where supporting the nuclear agenda we consent to our own oppression. Jim Harding, a retired professor of environmental and justice studies and author of *Canada's Deadly Secret: Saskatchewan Uranium and the Global Nuclear System* (2007) states:

If "sustainability" is twisted to mean sustaining economic growth that is ecologically unsustainable, it turns into its opposite and loses all intended meaning. Sustainability is about meeting needs today in such a way that this doesn't jeopardize the capacity of people to meet their needs in the future. This will require changing both technology and economy so that eco-systems, upon which human need-fulfilment depend, are protected and, yes, restored. Quickly phasing-out all industrial toxic waste streams is a vital part of this (Harding, 2009).

People in Saskatchewan unconsciously support the nuclear industry, and other oppressive economic and corporate structures, by consent when they do not engage in the creation of an alternative agenda. Craik has made massive strides towards such an alternative but that progress, as Schnaiberg says, could easily be sabotaged by the "treadmill of production". It is likely that until Craik embarks on a full scale endeavour to transition to a renewable energy base so that it has the potential for energy autonomy, it may not fully engage in an alternative discourse that will support the counter-hegemony needed to confront the status quo.

¹³ Neither Bruce Power nor the Government mention the associated rates of childhood leukemia; they don't tell you the debt shouldered by Ontario people for their reactors; they deny the experience in other jurisdictions; nobody in the world has yet found a means to dispose of nuclear waste (see Appendix 9: "Nuclear Reactor, Bruce Power"; Green Party of Saskatchewan, 2009).

7.2.4.2 Appropriate technology

The townspeople repeatedly expressed their concern for the economic viability of the project in the context of an agriculturally depressed community. It was concluded that the leadership, while educating extensively as to ideals of environmentally sustainable practices and conservation measures, did not sufficiently emphasize to the people the extent of the economic benefits of renewable energy development or provide practical models for local on-farm application, or the potential for it to provide a degree of autonomy to the community. I argue that more information from successes elsewhere could have been used to illustrate options for the future. Examples include: Falls Brook Eco-Centre, New Brunswick and Harvest Moon, Manitoba (see Appendix 6).

Amory Lovins in the 1970's presented an argument that soft energy paths could be instituted and economically viable by 2000. Alan Schnaiberg argues that appropriate technology, such as renewable energy, is the means for environmental movements to be successful. Hermann Scherr has recently promoted extensively the development of renewable energy technology and its benefits to local economies and he cites numerous examples in Germany and eastern Europe where depressed communities have been revitalized through adaptation to renewable energies and the development of industries based on the related technologies (Scheer, 2006; see Appendix 6). However, in Saskatchewan, there is also a need for examples of on-farm renewable energy innovations for on-farm applications. These and other practical examples could be studied as possible directions for future economic development at Craik and if acted upon soon enough may provide an answer to their long term economic needs (Appendix 6). This form of future development could provide the community with a plan that would integrate the economic and environmental sustainability goals that the project proposed at the beginning. It could also provide a stimulus for agriculturalists to adopt renewable energy practices that could significantly lower their costs. Furthermore, the Craik project would then be an economically viable model for similar projects and the means to revitalize other agricultural communities in Saskatchewan. Lastly, it may assist to challenge the state to reassess their energy policies. Jim Harding argues that people need to demand that the state pursue the development of sustainable technologies:

In the short term, the economic crisis may even distract us from the challenges of sustainability, of which the climate change crisis is clearly our biggest. But this economic crisis presents a great opportunity to rebuild our economy with job-supplying sustainable technologies, which is the least we should demand when public moneys are being used (Harding, 2009).

Several policy documents on the Saskatchewan government website indicate a fundamental contradiction on the government's stance on environmental issues. On the one hand, the discourse from the government emphasises a commitment to solve environmental problems in Saskatchewan. On the other hand, the government has failed to provide concrete support in the form of funding or incentives to the Craik project (see Appendix 5; Government of Saskatchewan, 2007). *Saskatchewan Government State of the Environment Report* (2005) while seventy-two pages long, contains only four pages on the issue of climate change and non-renewable resources (Government of Saskatchewan, 2005). It appears that, although the government seems to illustrate a skill in the rhetoric of environmentalism, it has not yet grappled with the core of the problem.

In 2006, the Saskatchewan government commissioned former NDP cabinet minister, Peter Prebble, to prepare a report outlining the steps needed for Saskatchewan to become environmentally sustainable. Prebble presented a paper to the premier which contained thirty recommendations, most of them pertaining to renewable energy (Prebble, 2006). The majority of these points are renewable energy initiatives and correspond closely to the actions in Scheer's recommendations that were incorporated into the Renewable Energies Act in Germany in 2000 (Scheer, 2006). This brings my attention to the pressing need to evaluate the Saskatchewan government's environmental initiatives to replace conventional energy sources in this province.

To what extent is the government acting in their own interests, the interests of the people of Saskatchewan to protect them from climate change, or the corporate interests? David Held (2005) states that since global politics today are based not only in traditional concerns, but in a large diversity of social and ecological questions, modern political mechanisms call to question the traditional categories that shaped modern political thought. While Held's analysis is on a globalized scale, it offers valuable insights into the role of the state in a contemporary world with a global warming crisis. The next section discusses related implications.

7.2.4.3 Environment and economics.

This thesis has been a case study of the factors involved in social change in the context of the Craik Sustainable Living Project. In chapter two Alain Touraine is cited: “the way we understand a social movement will be determined by our view of reality. A social movement does not, like most aspects of social life, represent a part of reality; it is a specific mode of constructing social reality” (Touraine, 1985, 749). He places social action at the centre of the analysis and argues that there is no need to oppose Marx and Weber. Whereas Marx represents contemporary society as founded on relations of domination, Weber presents action based in values. A social movement, Touraine says, is composed of actors opposed to domination and who are in contention for the management of this culture and its activities. This notion provides a reconstruction of the relations between culture and society where, instead of them being opposed, we understand reality as dialectic between the two. At Craik I see these two factors in dynamic. “The actor participates in the production of a situation while he or she is conditioned by it” (Touraine, 1988, 10). The economic forces created a resistance of solidarity and action, while at the same time, the cultural values related to the CSLP development are also bringing about social change.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued from a primarily Marxist position that people are not convinced by words but by changes in their economic circumstances. I have argued that a concerted development of renewable energy technologies at Craik could challenge the relations of domination and provide the community with a greater degree of autonomy from those forces. In this manner, the actors would assert themselves as producers rather than consumers of their own social and cultural situations. I have posed the possibility that positive action for renewable energy action at Craik could assist to engage the local population in the eco-project as their economic circumstances stand to sufficiently improve with such development.

Scheer, Sayer, Jessop and Held argue similarly that, economic and social developments are interdependent and provide a future basis for accountability. The economic system does not have a unilateral role in determining other relations. In other

words, previous critical theoretical analysis of the state is no longer sufficient to understand and support democratic accountability. While Scheer's analysis is firmly rooted in a Marxist theoretical base he also states that, especially with respect to the environment, economic and social development are necessarily interdependent and renewable energy provides numerous opportunities for both future social and economic development (Scheer, 2005).

7.3 CSLP and New Social Movement theory

Despite the fact that, the leaders at Craik reject the notion of being defined as a social movement, I have found new social movement theory to be helpful as a framework to analyze the capacity and the character of the developments at Craik. While the traditional understanding of social movements as rebels and revolutionaries does not fit in the case of the CSLP, some of the traits of new social movements do. The next section explains how we can understand the CSLP as a new social movement and why I found this theory useful for a sociological analysis of the project.

William Carroll tells us that it is on the question "of how to make change, ...that a careful consideration of contemporary social movement theory can be helpful" (Carroll, 1997, 7). Carroll, admits that new social movement theory appears to be somewhat contradictory and Melucci states that in complex contemporary societies there needs be a deeper discussion in order to more adequately understand the directions chosen by the new social movements. There is a growing body of literature on new social movement theory but the challenge is still how to define it. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will briefly discuss three core and seemingly contradictory aspects of new social movement theories. This discussion demonstrates the complexity of current theorizing and identifies how new social movement theory applies to the CSLP. These three aspects are: (1) They are diverse groups that are both globalized and local in focus. (2) They are not primarily economic in focus but necessarily do address political economy. (3) They appear to be ambivalent about state power but do acknowledge that they are influenced by its actions (Carroll, 1997).

First, new social movements tend to be based both in the global and the local field. In general it can be said that new social movements promote universalistic goals

such as peace, security, a clean environment and human rights. However, they tend to focus on specific issues such as the promotion of rights for particular groups of people who have been excluded from full social participation. Examples of the globalized potential of the new social movements while focusing on specific and local actions are the environmental, peace and anti-nuclear movements. These groups have been able to combine efforts largely because of their access to the world-wide-web which allows them to make the connections between local problems and their global sources (Brym, Lie, Nelson, Guppy & McCormick, 2003). Carroll explains that new social movements consist of many diverse groups who do not have a coherent vision of a counter-hegemony. However, they do include a great number of groups with a broad worldview that supports subordinated peoples everywhere and so share in common a general commitment to social justice (Adam in Carroll, 1997). At Craik the main focus of residents was local, the concern being to 'save the town', where they saw their local community concerns as subordinate to the political agenda to centralize services in rural Saskatchewan. The Prairie Institute for Human Ecology is an example of a group whose concerns were the sustainability of the environment on a global scale while addressing those concerns by acting locally. Furthermore, both the global and local concerns are now being addressed at Craik through the Craik Sustainable Living Project.

Second, new social movement theorists argue that new social movements shift the locus of concern from the economic to cultural ground. They argue that in contemporary times our meanings are largely constructed through the global media and communication systems and that the new movements focus primarily on challenging that hegemony. "The challenge embodied in the movement's action keeps raising questions about meaning" (Carroll, 1997, 9). The data shows that, through lived practice at Craik, the eco-development does challenge people's assumptions about lifestyles and worldviews. As cited previously, one of the local residents in Craik states:

Like I say, it's been so much fun and so educational and just so changes the way, the person you are, by being involved with those people, shouldn't call them those people but those people that were on the project. It's changed my whole my whole philosophy really (Interviewee # 5, February 15, 2007).

Third, while not organizing primarily to confront state power, new social movements are necessarily shaped by the state's actions since it is the state that reproduces the relations of power and domination. This is exemplified at Craik where the agriculturalists are caught in a web of commercial relations that direct their farming practices and the marketing of their product. These relations have resulted in farmers being unable to continue on the land, which has generated an exodus of rural people, leaving behind depressed rural communities. The government in Saskatchewan is committed to the centralized agendas of corporate forces of production that are responsible for many aspects of degradation in our farming communities and our natural environment. Specifically, in Saskatchewan, the state is committed to traditional energy production which makes it very unlikely that they will support a transition to renewables. Craik, by embodying that transition and through its autonomous actions for sustainable lived practices of alternative lifestyles, is creating a degree of social change.

Both Carroll and Melucci state that while the NSMs can generally be said to be aware of the global issues, they are more focused on developing the lived practical experience of an alternative world view. The NSMs consist of multiple diverse and multifaceted groups who do not have a consistent articulation of their world view, making them challenging to define. What they do share in common is diversity which keeps open the possibility of a world that is not totally subsumed by a totalitarian hegemony. Through their lived practice they maintain possibilities for more egalitarian relations and for alternative ways of organizing society that allow space for the creativity needed for the values of equality, liberty and justice to be realized. They have come to accept that they cannot form a revolution that will change everything but:

Like guerrilla warriors, the new social movements have developed a low-cost, relatively effective, decentralized methods of outflanking a centralized extraordinarily expensive, high-tech adversary (Carroll, 1997, 52).

In other words, "the new social movement strategy works from below, through 'living social change'" (Boggs in Carroll, 1997, 52).

In the next page, I present Table 7.1, which repeats Table 2.1 from chapter two that presented an overview of the features of a dominant hegemonic bloc as explained in

the work of Antonio Gramsci compared with, the features of resource mobilization groups (RMTs) and new social movement groups (NSMs). Table 7.1 includes two more categories: one, key features of the Prairie Institute of Human Ecology (PIHE) and two, features of the Craik Sustainable Living Project (CSLP), in order to illustrate what features of these groups can be defined as aspects a new social movement. Again, it is important to state that, there is a danger of oversimplification in applying features of such complex phenomenon to a table and that, the oversimplification may not provide a completely true representation. However, the tables may assist this thesis to explain the features of the CSLP that can be understood as representative of a new social movement according to the new social movement theoretical literature.

It can be seen that the PIHE has almost all features identified in the NSM literature as belonging to the new social movements. In common with most new social movements, they have as their specific focus, lived action. In their case the action is the modelling of alternative sustainable building techniques suited to the prairie climate and regions of Saskatchewan. Also, they promote a holistic world view, especially living in a harmonious and sustainable relationship with the earth.

The CSLP can be seen to have some aspects of all the categories, including the dominant hegemony, RMT groups, NSM groups, and the PIHE. Reflecting the influence of the PIHE, it can be seen that in most respects, the CSLP also has the features of the new social movements. This understanding of the CSLP as a new social movement could be stated as “the calling into question of the relation of domination in which an actor - let us say the ruling class - is permitted to manage the bulk of available cultural resources” (Touraine, 1988, 10).

Table 7.1 Theoretical Summary of Features of Hegemonic Bloc, RMTs, NSMs Compared with Features of the PIHE and CSLP*

	Hegemonic bloc	Resource mobilization movements (RMTs)	New Social Movements (NSMs)	Prairie Institute for Human Ecology (PIHE)	Craig Sustainable Living Project (CSLP)
Social Organization	Dominant social structures maintained through religious, economic, political, educational and legal institutions	<i>Groups of minorities organizing solidarity who participate in the emancipatory struggle to construct an alternative to the hegemonic bloc</i>	Multiple, diverse <i>groups of minorities</i> empowering people with the freedom to think and act autonomously and creatively	Empowering people with the freedom to think and act autonomously and creatively	<i>A minority group organizing solidarity and constructing an alternative to the hegemonic bloc</i>
Source of Political Power	Political power aligned with dominant class's economic power	<i>Political power originating in subordinate classes' solidarity</i>	Power in constructing and living their views	Power in constructing and living their views	<i>Political power originating in subordinate classes' solidarity</i>
Agency	Global media systems reproduce dominant system's ideas and values Discourage agency	<i>Encouraging to have agency to act and think for themselves Education and consciousness raising</i>	<i>Education and consciousness raising Encouraging agency to act and think for themselves</i> Enact their alternative cultures, identities and world views. May transgress dominant norms	<i>Consciousness raising through doing Demonstrates agency to act and think for themselves</i> Enact their cultures, identities and alternative world views Enact a just, kind, responsible society - through living the values that they envision May transgress dominant norms	<i>Increasing consciousness</i> through a growing diversity of life practices <i>High level of agency to act and think for themselves</i> Enact their cultures, identities and alternative world views Enact a just, kind, responsible society - through living the values that they envision
Goal	Maintenance of the capitalist economic system	<i>Justice and Equality</i>	<u>Liberty</u> , Freedom of expression for alternative and diverse identities and values	Autonomy, constructing environmentally sustainable structures to support environmental and socially sustainable lifestyles	Development of an alternative environmentally sustainable model community. AND, sustainable economic viability of their community within capitalism
Value system	Instrumental values-based in capitalist market system	<i>Substantive values based in socialist principles, within capitalism</i>	<i>Substantive values-</i> either/and/or capitalist - socialist	<i>Substantive values - based more in socialist principles</i>	<i>Substantive values</i> AND, Instrumental values- either/and/or capitalist - socialist
Leadership	Hierarchical leadership	<i>Organic intellectual leadership</i>	Local leadership - may or may not be organic intellectual	<i>Organic intellectual leadership</i>	<i>Organic intellectual leadership and local leadership</i>
Membership Participation	Coerced consent	<i>Consensual participation Networks for solidarity</i>	Spontaneous and eclectic membership, may or may not form <i>Networks for solidarity</i>	<i>Consensual participation and, spontaneous and eclectic membership also: Networks for solidarity</i>	Spontaneous and eclectic membership, opening future possibilities for: <i>Networks for solidarity</i>
Development of History	Linear progress - leading to a totalitarian global society	<i>Dialectic developments, dialectic development of history</i>	Ambiguous development and futures.	Ambiguous development and futures	Ambiguous development and futures
Relationship to Nature	Nature as object, a commodity, not respectful of the earth, treadmill of production	<i>Differing attitudes towards the earth</i>	Holistic: social, environmental, and economic seen in relationship Respectful of the earth	Holistic: social, environmental, and economic seen in relationship Respectful of the earth	Holistic: social, environmental, and economic seen in relationship Respect for the earth
Examples:	Capitalist governments and their supporting agencies	<i>Socialist movements, Labour movement, Civil rights movement, Socialist-Feminists, Environmental movement</i>	Intentional communities, Ethnic cultural practices, Ethnic self-determination groups, Eco-feminists, Raging grannies, Unschooling movement, Alternative medicines, Environmental and anti-nuclear groups .		

* Features of hegemonic bloc are in **standard bolded font**. Features of RMTs are in *italicized bolded font*. Features of NSMs are in standard, non- bolded font.

Table 7.1 illustrates that, the CSLP while possessing many features of new social movements, still retains economic interests based in the dominant hegemony of the state. The CSLP represents some challenge to the dominant forces of the state, so the project also risks being undermined and sabotaged if they are not sufficiently conscious and careful in their future choices of action. On the other hand, the table above also illustrates that the CSLP has potential to expand and to develop as a strong holistic and sustainable counter-hegemonic force because of their capacity for agency and to take action to have control over their destiny.

Touraine asserts that it is essential for sociologists in these current times to “research and encourage all forms of rebirth of social life”. Sociology, Touraine says needs to, “ discover and to analyze, in those places where the mechanisms of functioning and social change have retained enough autonomy from State power, the new actors, the new conflicts, and especially the new stakes” (Touraine, 1988, 27). This introduces the last section of the thesis containing some of my suggestions for future research that could expand this work further.

7.4 Future research, concluding thoughts

7.4.1 Future research

This case study is an initial attempt to address the social and cultural issues related to social change and to a renewable energy transformation in Saskatchewan. This research suggests that a number of related studies would be important to undertake to address the topic more fully:

(1) In January 2009, the CSLP embarked on the second five year phase for the eco-project. The project at Craik promises to expand and develop in the future and I hope another scholar will undertake to follow the second stage of the CSLP. It should prove

to be very interesting and especially important to study the degree that the Craik project could serve as a model for other renewable energy projects and eco-communities.

(2) This study has discussed the plight of agriculturalists in rural Saskatchewan. The study also indicates that there is potential for significant gains to the farming population through the development of more sustainable practices and that renewable energy technologies could provide valuable economic support to the farmers of Saskatchewan. Therefore, I think a study of the potential impact of renewable energy technologies specifically for the farming population could provide a valuable contribution.

(3) This thesis has discussed the challenge posed to renewable energy development by the dominant social and political structures. Last, but certainly not least, there is need for a study of the state and its role in Canada's response to the global warming problem. Such a study would seek to assess the underlying factors that influence the government's decisions specifically to determine if they are supporting measures to address global warming and protect the environment. Questions such a study could address would be: 1. Is the government taking steps to transition to renewable energy in the electrical sector? 2. Are they providing financial incentives that promote renewable energy? 3. Are they advancing conservation and renewables in the building sector? 4. Are there policy measures that promote conservation and renewable energy?

7.4.2 Concluding thoughts

Understandably, one could remain sceptical about the long term sustainability of global capitalism, with its reductionist economic rationale. There are local economic, social and ecological gains to be had by developing alternative, renewable futures. This case study surveying the views and goals of local people related to the community at Craik in rural Saskatchewan and the Craik Sustainable Living Project demonstrates some of the social and cultural factors involved when grassroots action is taken to addresses more universal economic and environmental problems. The CSLP story is both empowering and informative.

The CSLP make visible the potential for agents to undertake sustainable development in a depressed rural community. This study of one small rural Saskatchewan town provides hope that it is possible for people to act to improve their social and economic circumstances. Perhaps it will also provide encouragement to the Craik community and others to pursue further the possibilities for renewable energy development.

I conclude with a quote from Amory Lovins (1977):

The barriers to far more efficient use of energy are not technical, nor in any fundamental sense economic. So why do we stand here, confronted, as Pogo said, by insurmountable opportunities? (35).

APPENDIX 1: ETHICS CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB)

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Eugenia Valenzuela

DEPARTMENT
Sociology

BEH#
06-319

INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CONDUCTED (STUDY SITE)
University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon SK

STUDENT RESEARCHERS
Julia Hardy

SPONSOR
Graduate Teaching Fellowship, St. Thomas Moore College

TITLE
Alternative energy in rural Saskatchewan: a critical study of a contemporary Saskatchewan social movement

APPROVAL DATE
22-Jan-2007

EXPIRY DATE
21-Jan-2008

APPROVAL OF
Application
Consent Form
Letter of Invitation
Interview Guides

CERTIFICATION

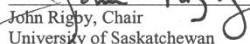
The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above-named research project. The proposal was found to be acceptable on ethical grounds. The principal investigator has the responsibility for any other administrative or regulatory approvals that may pertain to this research project, and for ensuring that the authorized research is carried out according to the conditions outlined in the original protocol submitted for ethics review. This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above time period provided there is no change in experimental protocol or consent process or documents.


Any significant changes to your proposed method, or your consent and recruitment procedures should be reported to the Chair for Research Ethics Board consideration in advance of its implementation.

ONGOING REVIEW REQUIREMENTS

In order to receive annual renewal, a status report must be submitted to the REB Chair for Board consideration within one month of the current expiry date each year the study remains open, and upon study completion. Please refer to the following website for further instructions:

http://www.usask.ca/research/ethics_review/


John Rigby, Chair
University of Saskatchewan
Behavioural Research Ethics Board

 23/07
Signature Date

Please send all correspondence to:

Ethics Office
University of Saskatchewan
Room 306 Kirk Hall, 117 Science Place
Saskatoon SK S7N 5C8
Telephone: (306) 966-2084 Fax: (306) 966-2069

APPENDIX 2: LETTER OF INVITATION

Renewable energy in rural Saskatchewan: a critical study LETTER OF INVITATION

Dear member of the community of Craik,

I am a Master's student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and I am interested in studying the historical, social, and cultural factors related to the Craik Sustainable Living Project. There are an increasing number of studies indicating that turning to renewable energy is critical for the future wellbeing of life on our planet. The town of Craik has taken action in this direction and therefore may constitute a model for other developments. Based on a new social movement critical theoretical framework, I will seek to identify the factors that have been most significant in developing this project. My particular focus is to study the social and cultural dynamics related to the organization of this community development. The objective will be to increase understanding of this project to further the potential for other similar developments in Saskatchewan.

The study will involve archival research plus, observational and interview research, each interview taking from 60 – 90 minutes. The observation portion of the study will require my presence in the community, attending committee meetings, and archival research. Interviews for this study will be voluntary, and will be approximately 60 minutes in length. They will be conducted at a location and time of your choice. The interviews will be conducted two groups, the first being the individuals involved with the eco project and second, other members of the community. Following the interview, transcripts will be returned to you as soon as possible, so that you have the opportunity to review them and delete anything that you are not comfortable with having included. Participants will be selected for secondary interviews, dependent on their interest and potential to provide more in depth data. The total time commitment for the two interviews will be from 2- 3 hours.

Those who participate will be assigned pseudonyms. You may withdraw from the study at any time or may withdraw information provided at any time. Tapes and transcripts will be accessible only to my thesis advisory committee and to me. Since this is a small, fairly closed community I cannot guarantee anonymity, but all personal identifying information will be omitted and you will be given opportunities to review transcripts of interviews prior to the completion of the study and delete or change anything you do not wish to remain in the data. A final report will be given to

you once the study has been completed. Once the research has been completed, my thesis will be available at the University of Saskatchewan library.

Final selection of the interviewees will depend on availability, willingness to participate, and the requirements of the research project. The number of persons to be interviewed will not likely exceed ten. There are no intended risks associated with this study. The research is being conducted in order to gain a better understanding of firstly, the dynamics of this project that have enabled it to be successful so far, and secondly the barriers that may yet need to be addressed. It is hoped that this study will help better understand the development factors in order for the project to move forward more effectively and, if possible, to become a model for other similar projects.

If you have any questions you may contact Julia Hardy by phone: (306) 978-0093 or email: jmh572@mail.usask.ca, or my thesis supervisor, Dr. Eugenia Valenzuela, phone: (306) 966- 8961 or email: evalenzuela@stmcollege.ca.

I will be contacting you soon to ask about your participation and to discuss the setting up of a site visit and specific interviews. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. It will contribute to the conclusion of my thesis and hopefully be of benefit to another community in Saskatchewan.

Best regards,

Julia Hardy
Phone: (306) 978-0093
Fax: (306) 966-1653
Email: jmh572@mail.usask.ca
Mailing address: Department of Sociology
Room 1019 Arts Building
University of Saskatchewan
S7N 5A5

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM

Renewable energy in rural Saskatchewan: a critical study CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Julia Hardy, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, (306)978-0093.

Supervisor: Dr. Eugenia Valenzuela, Department of Sociology, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, (306)966- 8961.

Purpose and Procedure: There is an increasingly large body of literature indicating that developing alternatives to fossil fuel energy is essential for the wellbeing of life on our planet. This research focuses on the development of a unique project in a rural Saskatchewan town which proposes to incorporate renewable energy technology into its community development. The research will explore the social and cultural dynamics related to the development of this project. Taped interviews will be conducted with individuals representing various positions related to the project, including CSLP committee members, local administrators, community members and elders in the community. Interviews will last approximately 60-90 minutes. All interviews will take place at a location chosen by the participant, most likely his/her home or a quiet public place. Selected individuals will be asked to participate in a secondary follow up interview. Total time commitment for those with secondary interviews will be from 2 to 3 hours.

Potential Risks and Benefits: This study poses no known risks or benefits to participants. Being involved in the study may enhance the individuals own understanding and conceptions of the project.

Storage of Data: During the study, all information collected for the study, including tapes and transcripts of interviews and contact information, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet by Julia Hardy at the University of Saskatchewan. Upon completion of the study, all materials will be stored in a locked filing cabinet by Prof. Eugenia Valenzuela at the University of Saskatchewan for a minimum of five years. If Professor Valenzuela retires during this time, the material will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Social Research unit.

Confidentiality: The findings of this study will be used as the basis for a Master's thesis, as well as conference presentations or academic journal articles; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although direct quotations from the interview will be reported, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying personal information will be removed from the report. Since this is a small community, I cannot guarantee anonymity. Instead, I will ensure that prior to the data being included in the final

report, you will be given the opportunity to review the transcript of your interview, and to add, alter, or delete information from the transcripts as you see fit. You will also be allowed to withdraw at any time and any prior data you have provided will be destroyed.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. You are free to answer only those questions you are comfortable with and you may ask to have the tape recorder turned off at any time. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, any data you have contributed will be destroyed at your request.

If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have questions at a later time. Please do not hesitate to contact the researchers with any questions about the research or results.

You can contact either: Dr. Eugenia Valenzuela at the University of Saskatchewan, St Thomas More College, 1437 College Dr. Saskatoon, SK. S7N OW6, Phone: (306) 966-8961, Dr. Harley Dickinson, Department Head, Department of Sociology, 9 Campus Drive, University of Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5, Phone: (306) 966- 6930, or Julia Hardy, Department of Sociology, 9 Campus Drive, University of Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5, Phone: (306)978-0093. The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board has approved this study on ethical grounds on (January 23, 2007). Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Ethics Office (306) 966-2084. Out of town participants may call collect.

I have read and understood the description provided above; I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered satisfactorily. I consent to participate in the study described above and I understand that I may withdraw consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

(Name of Participant)

(Date)

(Signature of Participant)

(Signature of Researcher)

APPENDIX 4: TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Julia Hardy. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Julia Hardy (and to Eugenia Valenzuela and other members of Julia Hardy's graduate advisory committee) to be used in the manner described in the consent form. I have received a copy of this Transcript Release Form for my own records.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Please begin by telling me some background information about yourself and your relationship to the community of Craik.

How long have you or your family been in this community? If recently why did you come there?

What is your occupation and what activities or organizations within the community are you involved with? What is your educational background?

What do you think has been significant or particularly interesting in the history and development of Craik as a community?

B. (20 minutes)

Please tell me your story of the how the eco-project developed?

What has been your own involvement, or experience with the project?

What circumstances and events initiated the eco-project?

Who were the leaders and how was that determined?

How did the leaders relate with the community?

What critical decisions were made and how?

What contributed to the project being able to go forward?

Were there any problems related to the project? How were they addressed?

Do you think the project gained sufficient support in the community?

If not, why? If so, how was that achieved?

Do you feel you've been able to communicate your opinions in relation to this project?

C. (20 minutes)

What are your views regarding the effects of the eco-project:

Has this project addressed the needs of the community? In what ways has it or has it not?

Are there changes in the community related to the project?

Have some relationships in the community changed?

Has there been significant economic benefit?

Are there non-economic other benefits?

Are there challenges related to the project?

Do you think that another means could meet the community's economic needs better?

Has this project been beneficial to the farmers in the area? How? How not?

Has the project affected the neighbouring communities and how?

Could this be a viable project for other communities? Would you view it as competition or compatible for another eco-community to develop?

Are there any other important effects?

D. (5 minutes) What does the term ‘sustainable’ mean to you?

There will be a second set of interview questions:

The second interviews will begin by asking the respondents if they have any questions or concerns that have arisen since the first interview.

Since the specific questions for the second set of interviews will arise from the data in the first interviews it is not possible to determine them at this time.

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APPENDIX 6: CSLP FINANCES:

CSLP Eco-Centre and eco-village.

Federation of Canadian Municipalities Grant	100,000.00
Centennial Grant	23,750.00
CDIG Grant (Craig's Internet)	34,400.00
Sask Water	5,000.00
TD Friends of the Environment	1,000.00
Other Donations	6,000.00
Buy-a-Bale Promotion	21,600.00
	192,750.00
FCM Loan (10 years @ 3.6%)	150,000.00
Royal Bank loan (5 years @ prime)	150,000.00
Grants anticipated	84,000.00
Donations and fundraising anticipated	60,000.00
TOTAL FUNDING	636,750.00
Building Costs:	
Labour	196,940.00
Materials	403,306.00
TOTAL EXPENSES	600,000.00

Grants and donations anticipated were based on fundraising activities ongoing, for example the raffling off of the 'Smart Car' and the next year the Honda Hybrid car. We also had other smaller fundraising activities. Some money was used from the town's reserves to make up any temporary shortfall (\$80,000 to \$100,000). The town had made a commitment 'not to increase taxes' to pay for the project and were able to do that by using some reserve monies.

In Kind Donations:

Kramer Tractor - use of lift for 4 months.

Yellow Rose Construction - digging of geothermal trenches for cost of fuel and operator (3 weeks)

Mainstream Water - installation of water system for about one half of retail cost

500 gallon tank for composting toilet liquid sold to us at cost

Craig Plumbing & Heating - all Aaron Obrigewitsch's work was donated - we paid only for materials (probably a \$75,000 saving to the project)

Approximately half of the labour for the building was donated.

(Personal communication, December 18, 2008).

APPENDIX 7: RESOURCES

Canadian agriculturally based eco-communities; Renewable energy development

Falls Brook Centre, 2009. *Falls Brook* is a sustainable community demonstration and training centre in rural New Brunswick. Located on 400 acres of Acadian forest and farmland, Falls Brook Centre strives to promote exemplary sustainable practices in a farming community. South Knowlesville, New Brunswick: Available at: <http://www.fallsbrookcentre.ca/>. Retrieved February 9, 2009.

Harvest Moon, 2009. : *Harvest Moon's* mission is to develop a learning centre that works toward strengthening and building linkages between urban and rural areas, empowering communities while creating strategies and infrastructure to sustain community and environment. Available at: <http://www.harvestmoonsociety.org/>. Roblin, Manitoba: Retrieved February 9, 2009.

Roger Peters, 2006. *Plugging Ontario into a Green Future: Renewable Is Doable Action Plan*, Canadian Renewable Energy Alliance: a model energy strategy document for the transition to renewable energy. (Roger lived 11 years in Saskatchewan where he worked on renewable energy issues) available at: www.pembina.org, Retrieved February 10, 2009.

Pembina Institute, 2009. *Greening The Grid: Powering Alberta's Future with Renewable Energy*. January 14, 2009. This report presents a comprehensive analysis of Alberta's power production and energy efficiency opportunities that demonstrates the dominant role that renewable energy and improved efficiency can play in seriously reducing pollution and meeting future power demand. They provide scientific research and information on environmentally sustainable living options. They also provide renewable energy assessments to enable communities and municipalities to develop renewable energy sources such as wind, small hydro and solar. Available at, www.pembina.org. Alberta: Retrieved February 5, 2009.

Eurosolar: *European Solar Energy Society*, 2009. This site describes numerous projects in Europe that have revitalized communities by developing renewable energy technology, providing up to 100% of their energy sources. Available at: <http://www.eurosolar.de/en/>, Retrieved February 5, 2009.

ISES: *International Solar Energy Society*, 2009. Information resources on wind and solar energy Available at: <http://www.ises.org/ises.nsf!Open>. Retrieved, February 9, 2009.

Hermann Scheer, 2009. Scheer has already revolutionized the energy grid in Germany. He challenges Canada to do the same and says the great unspoken truth is how painless it will be to convert the world to renewable energy, especially solar power. Available at: <http://www.hermannscheer.de/en/> Retrieved, February 9, 2009.

Solar Energy Society of Canada, Inc., 2009. *SESCI* has been advancing the awareness, understanding, and use of solar energy in Canada since 1974. <http://www.sesci.ca/>, Retrieved February 9, 2009.

Canadian Labour Congress, 2009. *Green job creation*. Their recent document clearly describes the favourable potential for green job creation related to renewable energies versus jobs created by oil and uranium industries. Available at: http://action.clc-ctc.ca/en/Green_Job_Creation, Retrieved, February 5, 2009.

Renewable Energy World, 2009. Twice-weekly *Renewable energy e-newsletter and podcast*, Available at: <http://www.renewableenergyworld.com/rea/home>, Retrieved, February 10, 2009.

Solartopia, 2009. *Our Green Powered Earth-AD 2030*, The first utopian visioning of a civilization powered entirely by renewable energy, built on tangible technology available today. (Site has a Pete Seeger theme song). Available at: <http://www.solartopia.org/>, Retrieved, February 10, 2009.

Craig Shearer, 2009. *Solar Freedom*, A testament to the role Saskatchewan companies can play in the emerging market for solar products, Saskatchewan. Available at: solarfreedom@sasktel.net, Retrieved, February 9, 2009.

Mark Bigland-Pritchard, 2009. *Low Energy Design*, Renewable energy development for Saskatchewan, Bordon: Saskatchewan, Available at: mark@lowenergydesign.com, Retrieved, February 9, 2009.

Amory Lovins, 2009. "*Green Technology: Profitable Solutions to the Climate Crisis*" Available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZHASS1Yjg_s&feature=related. Retrieved February 10, 2009.

Rocky Mountain Institute, 2009. *Rocky Mountain Institute, abundance by design*, Explains the how-to for retrofitting projects that propose to save 30-60 percent of the energy with two-or three-year paybacks, and more savings on new facilities -- typically 40 to 90 percent, -- and the capital cost almost always goes down because of an integrated design to get expanding, not diminishing returns. They explain how to make very large energy savings cost less. Available at: www.rmi.org/Stanford. Retrieved, February 10, 2009.

Amory Lovins, 2009. *Small is Profitable*: Resources for innovation in energy services that will have to take place for us to have a sustainable future, explaining the costs and true benefits of distributed energy systems. It has become an indispensable tool for modeling distributed energy systems benefits for us. Available at: www.smallisbeautiful.org/ Retrieved, February 10, 2009.

Earthscan, 2009. Catalogue of resources for renewable energy and sustainable development. Available at: www.earthscan.co.uk, Retrieved, February 10, 2009.

McNamara, Melissa, March 8, 2007. *Samso, Danish Island Is Energy Self-Sufficient*, Available at: <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/03/08/eveningnews/main2549273.shtml>, Retrieved March 8, 2009

Canadian Renewable Energy Alliance, 2009. Available at: <http://www.can.rea.ca/>, Retrieved March 8, 2009

International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), 2009. *IRENA News* "IRENA is reality - on 26 January 2009, 75 countries signed the statute in Bonn", Available at: <http://www.irena.org/>. Retrieved March 8, 2009

APPENDIX 8: CSLP ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- Completed construction of a 6,000 sq foot Eco Centre , using straw bale construction, recycled wood beams from local elevators, stone donated by local farmers for a stone wall to retain solar heat, composting toilets, passive solar and geothermal heating, biological water treatment system and a biodegradable waste management system. Craik Eco-centre features include the Solar Garden Restaurant and meeting rooms that have become a popular venue for numerous groups. A small output, demonstration wind generator was installed in 2007. They have planted a botanical xeric garden around the Eco-centre with indigenous plants from North America, East and Central Asia and Europe as well as 45,000 fast growing poplar trees on site. The centre boasts visitors from almost every country in the world
- Featured in the Canadian Geographic – May 28, 2006 and Canadian Living Magazine – April, 2007; United Church Observer- October, 2006; Urban Voice – November, 2005; Prairies North – Spring 2004; Cottage Magazine – May/June 2004; SK Business Unlimited January 2005; Farm and Food Report – March 2004; Western Producer – July 22, 2004 and January 1, 2009; Natural Life Magazine –Sept/Oct, 2004; Canadian Geographic Canadian Environment Awards -2005; SK State of the Environment Report – 2005; Toronto Globe & Mail – Aug 16, 2005
- January, 2007: United Nations University formally established a Saskatchewan Regional Centre of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development at Craik.
- They received the Federation of Canadian Municipalities CH2 M Hill Sustainable Community Award in 2005 and also received the Tourism Saskatchewan's Land of the Living Skies Award of Excellence in 2006.
- From October 2004 through March 2006 the community was involved in Environment Canada's "Community One-Tonne Challenge" program. The Craik Community Challenge-Mid-Lakes Region engaged individuals in activities aimed at reducing personal greenhouse gas emissions.
- The Craik Golf Course has been recognized for environmental excellence. It has achieved designation as a "Certified Audubon Cooperative Sanctuary" by the Audubon Society. It is the first golf course in Saskatchewan to achieve this recognition, 63rd in Canada and 644th in the world.
- The CSLP has a Resource Library list at the Craik library which includes a collection of several hundred books, videos, magazines and other materials related to sustainable development. New material is always being added to the collection.
- They now have sold twelve in the eco-village with five currently under construction and one full time resident family.
- The town has started a communal composting system and has a no idling policy. Many Individuals are using lower energy practices such as low flush toilets, tankless water heaters, and sprinkler hoses.
- CSLP has distributed compact fluorescent light bulbs to Craik citizens through the Sask Power 'Operation Porch light' campaign.
- Conduct local ecological and historical tours of the area (Pelican Eco-Tours).
- Included in a sustainability Study of communities in Canada done by Simon Fraser University, (Sean Markey, PhD, Explorations Program, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

- In the spring of 2007 they had a Welcome Wagon event to celebrate the 70 newcomers to the Town and RM of Craik.
- Youth Build Saskatchewan (an organization founded in Harlem, US, to provide life skills for at risk youth) has a branch located at Craik and has plans to develop several projects to provide job skills for youth. Their proposed projects include: solar panel construction, a biodiesel cooperative, and construction of low income housing
- An international school is under construction on the eco-village site, being built by Praxis International
- First annual Solar Fair weekend - major focus on the Craik initiative with booths and demonstrations of alternative sustainable technologies by local and outside companies. (First annual Solar Fair was held in June, 2007. The second was June, 2008) Hosted two day Solar Fair, 2007 and 2008, a conference including notable Saskatchewan environmentalists as speakers and workshop facilitators.
- Education: Sustainable Rural Alternatives Seminar Series. This series features a number of speakers delivering information on new or currently underdeveloped agricultural and rural alternatives. Public Seminar Series. Funded through the Community One-Tonne Challenge Program, these seminars were designed to feature activities which empowered individuals to reduce their personal greenhouse gas emissions by 20 per cent. Climate Change Awareness and Action - Pilot Project in the Davidson School Division. The purpose of this project is to advance further awareness and knowledge of climate change and its impacts for children and youth in the Midlakes Region
- A CSLP member created a Green map of Craik that can now be found on the website and as a brochure at the Eco Centre (<http://www.craikecovillage.ca/greenmap.html>).
- Green Town Times new podcast series exploring news and views from Craik community available through video and podcast (www.craikecovillage.ca)
- Earth Day film festival - 2007 and 2008 (www.boilingfrog.ca)
- CSLP has an extensive website with links to other environmental education sources (<http://craikecovillage.ca/>).
- Had developed and piloted in several schools in the local area a Climate Change in Saskatchewan curriculum for grades 2 and 5.
- "An Evaluation of Alternative Technologies for Wastewater Treatment in Craik, SK" was prepared by Talea Coghlin, B.E.S, Environmental Resource Studies, and University of Waterloo for the Town of Craik.
- The town of Craik has commenced construction of a new biological sewer and water system.
- "Titan Clean Energy Projects Corporation" of Saskatoon, SK Canada is setting up business in Craik creating 20 new jobs.

- Began retrofitting of existing buildings in the town and RM, including:

1. Electricity usage audit was completed on the Town and R.M. of Craik administrative building, maintenance shop, fire hall, community hall, Craik Town Hall and Opera House, community rink and water plant. Reports were submitted to the appropriate boards.
2. Exterior roofing material made from recycled auto tires has been installed on the Craik Town Hall and Opera House.
3. Energy efficient lighting has been installed in the community rink.
4. A tankless water heater and energy efficient lighting has been installed in the Town and RM of Craik administration building.

5. The Town is converting its conventional water system to a biological treatment system which will use no chemicals in the treatment of the water. A small amount of chlorine is added as it leaves the plant for distribution.

- In January 2009 the CSLP completed an intensive review of the project and developed their second five year plan based on experience of the first five years.

APPENDIX 9: NUCLEAR REACTOR, BRUCE POWER

Water Matters, February 4, 2009. *Nuclear Reactor, Bruce Power*, Available at: <http://www.water-matters.org:80/node/264>, Retrieved February 16, 2009.

Kyle, Cassandra, February 3, 2009. "Uranium mine site rehabilitation requires study, government says", Saskatoon: *The Star Phoenix*, Available at: <http://www.thestarphoenix.com/news/story.html?id=1246658>, Retrieved February 16, 2009.

Globe and Mail, 2009. "*AECL Receives \$100 Million to Cover Cost Overrun*," Available at: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com:80/servlet/story/LAC.20090213.RAECL13/TPStory/Business>, Retrieved February 16, 2009.

McCarthy, Shawn, February 13, 2009
"Press Release: Bruce Power launches Saskatchewan 2020 initiative Feasibility study considering new nuclear will begin immediately" Ottawa: *Global Energy Reporter*, Available at: <http://www.brucepower.com/uc/GetDocument.aspx?docid=2645>, Retrieved February 16, 2009

Saskatoon, June 17, 2008 – "*Bruce Power will study the potential of bringing nuclear energy to the province as part of a wider look at clean energy technologies*", Available at: <http://www.brucepower.com/uc/GetDocument.aspx?docid=2645> , Retrieved February 16, 2009.

"*Saskatchewan 2020: New Energy, New Opportunity Report on Bruce Power's Feasibility Study*", November 2008. Available at: <http://nuclearsafety.gc.ca/eng/pdfs/BP-Sask-Feasibility.pdf> (24 pages), Retrieved February 16, 2009.

CBC News, Thursday, April 2, "*2009 Saskatchewan legislature approves uranium motion*" Saskatchewan Party and New Democratic MLAs have voted unanimously in favour of a motion supporting "consideration" of further development of the uranium industry
The government press release can be viewed at: <http://www.gov.sk.ca/news?newsId=051d4b45-eba3-4ea9-9ba2-21ce0ea1ca9a>
The full Uranium Development Partnership report (3.3MB) can be downloaded. at: <http://www.gov.sk.ca/adx/asp/adxGetMedia.aspx?mediaId=767&PN=Shared>
Two of the main recommendations are that we move forward with a nuclear reactor, and further examine nuclear waste storage, Retrieved, April 3, 2009.

APPENDIX 10: PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES

- (1) Craik Weekly News, 2007. “*Upcoming Auctions, April 24-June 27, 2007*” April 24, 2007. p.4.
- (2) Craik Weekly News, 2007. “*Craik welcomes newcomers.*” May 8, 2007.
- (3) Map of Southwestern Saskatchewan showing Craik along Highway 11 between the towns of Aylesbury and Davidson.

UPCOMING AUCTIONS

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 2007 - 10:00 a.m. -
Farm Auction for **ELAINE EBENAL** and the
ESTATE OF JIM EBENAL, Davidson, Sask.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 2007 - 1:00 p.m. -
Farm Auction for **WAYNE** and **NOREEN**
OBRIGEWITSCH, Davidson, Sask.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 2007 - 11:00 a.m. -
Farm Auction for **NONA KASTNING** and the
ESTATE OF GERALD KASTNING, Govan, Sask.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 2007 - 10:00 a.m. -
Farm Auction for **GRANT** and **CALVIN RUSSELL**,
Davidson, Sask.

MONDAY, APRIL 30, 2007 - 1:00 p.m. -
Farm Auction for **VICTOR** and **NEL VANMEER**.
One mile west of Earl Grey, Sask.

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 2007 - 10:00 a.m. -
Davidson, Sask. Communiplex. Household Auction
for **KORDELL JOSDAL**.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 2007 - 10:00 a.m. -
Household Auction for **KIMBLE**. Outlook Civic
Centre.

FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 2007 - 10:00 a.m. - Farm
Auction for the **ESTATE OF DEAN ERLANDSON**,
Craig, Sask.

MANZ'S AUCTIONEERING SERVICE

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Craik welcomes newcomers to town

A "Community Welcome" was extended to the people who, over the last couple of years have chosen Craik and district as their new home. The event was held at the Craik Legion Community Hall. On Sunday, April 29, 2007.

Mayor Rod Haugenud emceed the program and introduced each of the new residents. He asked each of them to stand and tell a little bit about themselves. Rod and Reeve Hilton Spencer shared the honour of introducing each of the newcomers.

The new residents shared a little bit about themselves and their contentment in their new home. While the eco-friendly philosophy has attracted many, others were alerted to Craik via real estate listings on the internet. Attractive housing prices in a rural setting were

definite invitations for others. Friends and relatives have continued to join other friends and relatives who already live in Craik, while others moved to Craik for work-related projects.

The welcoming committee created a directory filled with useful contact information and businesses donated in various ways to help make this "Community Welcome" a success.

Following the program, volunteers served refreshments and gave everyone the chance to meet and greet their neighbours.

Pictured above back row left to right: Lois Meadors, Doug Morrison, Merle McKay, Allan and Diane McCooey, Ronald Thys and Lynn van Ieperon, Arlene Selinger, Kelly Reinhardt, Bruce and Donna Marie

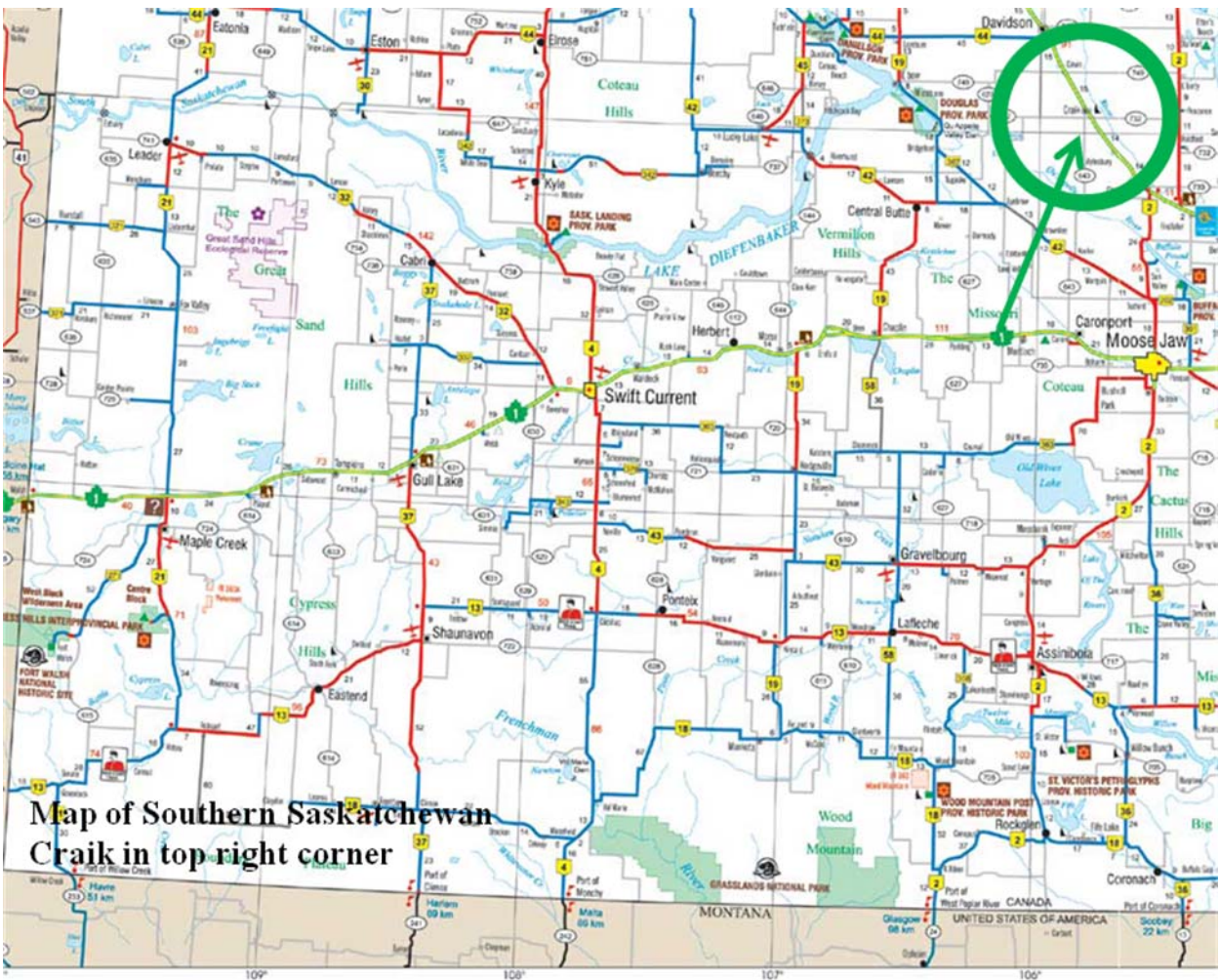
McLaughlin, Debbie Stewart, Paul, Crystal and Grayden Stinson and Billy Stocks.

Middle row left to right: Nathan and Madison McKeller, Gary and Doreen Keller, Larry Turgeon, Jordan and Nicole Stewart, George and Wendy Elliott and Joy Stocks.

Front row left to right: Adam, Deanna and Emma McKeller, Bridget Haworth, Sky Ann Stinson, Alice Larson, Elizabeth Zieffle, Brenda Lawrence, Connor, Tom and Carter Stewart, Doran Harper and Andrea Todd.

In attendance but missing from photo: Paulette Lanoie, Darwin and Joyce Shorland, and Tracy Wallman and Joe Charles.





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